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THE HERO OF THE ROMANTIC QUEST IN THE
ENGLISH NOVEL

1790-1850

BY

ROBERT BRUCE WEIRICK
A. B. Colorado College, 1911
A. M. Harvard University, 1913

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN ENGLISH

IN

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

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I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY
SUPERVISION BY ROBERT BRUCE WEIRICK

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1790-1850.

BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
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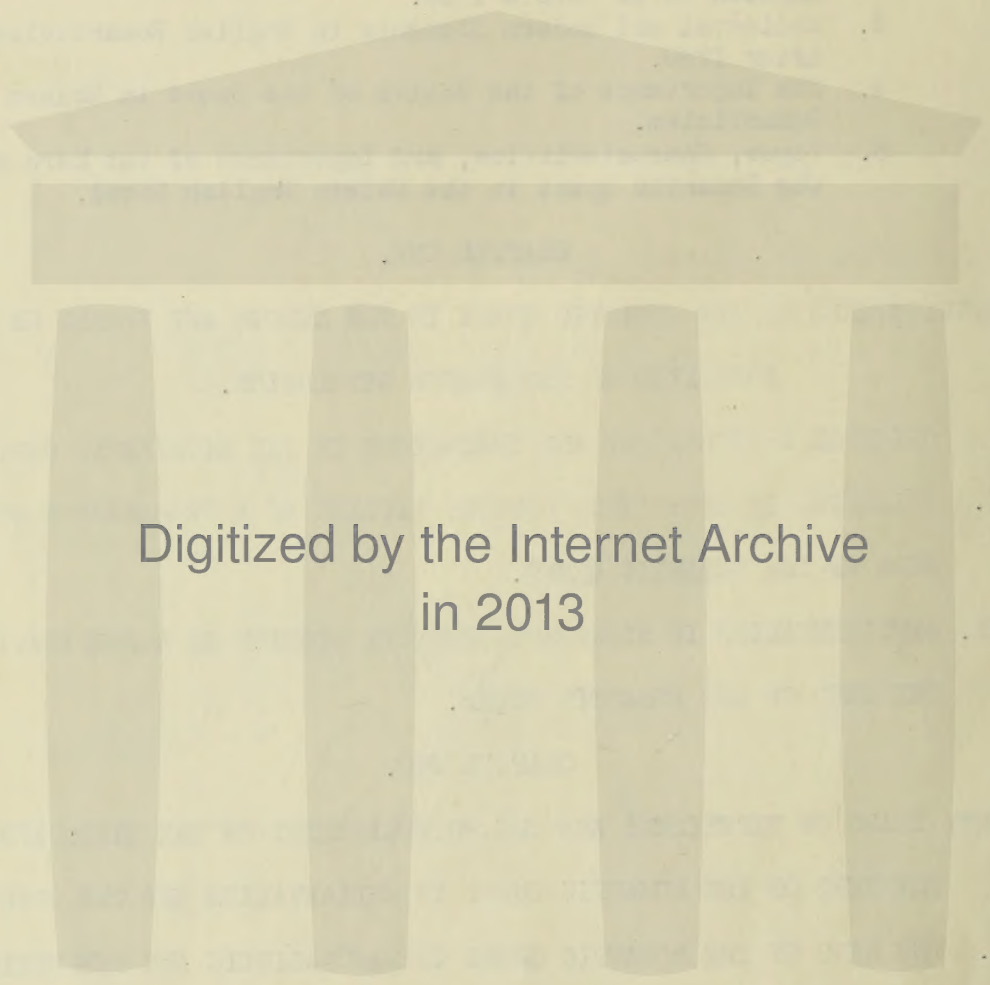
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THE HERO OF THE ROMANTIC QUEST IN THE ENGLISH NOVEL

1790 - 1850

INTRODUCTION

Present day special studies of fiction usually classify the material with which they deal under headings denoting either philosophical or aesthetic abstractions, or spiritual or historical movements. They seldom attempt to trace the growth through any general body of literature of the personal type or hero who, by embodying those abstractions, made them in their day significant and alive. Thus there are today studies of symbolism, of supernaturalism, and of orientalism; and there are studies of the Slum Movement in fiction, and of the French Revolution and the English novel: but there are very few studies that make their approach to these ideas by a consideration of them as incarnated in individual characters. Since the English romantic movement was so largely individual and subjective, and some of the most surprising changes which it accomplished were those affecting traditional ideas of heroic personality, it seems to me that perhaps the time has come to study romanticism through the medium of the individual romantic heroes, rather than through the abstract ideals or historical events of which they were a part. Such a study might offer as its excuse for existence, if not instruction, perhaps the special interest that pertains to biography and does not accrue to philosophy, or to the narration of historical causes.

This study of the most symbolical of romantic types, the hero of the romantic quest, is, I believe, the first which attempts to trace the rise and growth through any general body of English fiction of a character of a definite type. The objects of this study are to show the existence of a new type of hero in the English novel, the hero of the romantic quest;

to show the importance and characteristics of the type, and the kinds of quests pursued; and to point out some of the ways in which such a hero is related to the social and spiritual ideals of his time. In order to secure a sharply defined idea of the romantic quest and its hero, I have in this introduction thought it useful by way of contrast and resemblance, to compare the modern forms of romantic heroism and desire with the romances and heroes of the more remote types. As in real life ancestry and environment go far toward determining character, I have examined some of the ancestors and environing influences in fiction of the hero of the romantic quest, and have undertaken the appraisal of the elements which it seemed to me they supplied toward forming the hero's character and ideals. Besides tracing the hero's ancestry and historical setting, I have here attempted to frame a definition of the hero's characteristics, and of the elements that may be considered necessary to a quest in order that it shall be termed romantic. And finally, the introduction, in order to make clear the position of such a study as this in the historical criticism of the novel, gives a review of the discussions of the type now to be found in studies of fiction, and attempts to account for the somewhat surprising present day neglect of the subject by critics and historians.

ANTICIPATIONS OF THE ROMANTIC QUEST IN THE THEMES AND HEROES
OF MEDIAEVAL ROMANTICISM.

The romantic themes and personalities that took shape in English literature about the year 1790 did not come into being solely by the creative faculties of their authors, but were in many respects a revival of a romanticism that had long been dead. In studying the rise and development of the new themes of romance, a knowledge of what is original and what derivative in those themes will obviously depend on some consideration of their sources. And if, moreover, in a study of those sources it is noted that romanticism followed certain channels of development, seeming to obey a law of advance and improvement, such a result will perhaps afford some hints for a chart of the progress of modern romanticism. I have therefore begun this study of the hero of the romantic quest in the modern novel, with a brief sketch of the themes and heroes of mediaeval romanticism, leaving to the following sections of the introduction a discussion of their relations to the rise and growth of the English novel. For the student of English literature the Arthurian Legend is the most convenient source of mediaeval romance. Though the elements that compose Malory's "Morte d'Arthur" (1485), were the fruition of a slow growth through the Dark Ages of the cycles of romance, it is here that we have for the first time in English all the elements combined that go to make up the finest and most complete type of mediaeval romance. Before Malory there had been growing up in Europe a taste for a new kind of literature. Beginning probably with the Saint's Life, such as "The Vision of Saint Paul", in the third or fourth century, a vision of the life after death, this spirit, by fostering an aspiration for the eternal, and by displacing a study of the classic myths with such a love of wonder as appeared in the Eastern legends of

Alexander, 200 A.D., stimulated the growth of a fresh kind of interest. As has often been stated, the Odyssey too has in it elements of romance, - "absence of central plot, prolongation rather than evolution of the story, intermixture of the supernatural, presence of love affairs, variety of adventure arranged as a panorama, but is lacking in two of the very essential elements of the mediaeval spirit, Chivalry and Religion."¹

But as Greek and Roman civilization came into contact with the northern barbaric legends, there was a mutual modification and stimulation, and a growth of chivalry and religion. Apollonius of Rhodes' story of "Jason and Medea", and Virgil's supposed imitation of it in his story of the love of Aeneas and Dido, had a new emphasis in tales of love, more stress on romantic love, on pathos, and, as in the account of Dido's watching the departure of Aeneas never to return, on the wonder and grief of infinite loneliness and desolation. In Virgil for the first time we have what Mr. Paul Elmer More calls the beginnings of "the wonder and strangeness that go with the dissolving together of the human soul and nature, the vague reverie that takes the place of insight, the pantheism that has forgotten the true surprise of the supernatural", which insight and true supernaturalism he as a classicist finds in Homer and Sophocles, and the loss of which to the modern world he traces partly to the influence of Alexandrianism in Virgil and in the cycles of romance. Ovid in his treatment of mythology aided this development of the romantic spirit by adding to the classic stories chivalrous adventure, passion, and a

¹George Saintsbury, Romance, Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th ed., v. 23, pp. 500-504.

questing element, which with his "Art of Love" was to make him "the father of chivalry".¹ So that by 1100 there had grown up from Teutonic, Celtic, French, and Eastern sources, cycles of romance clustering around such names as Alexander the Great, Charlemagne, Arthur, and the Siege of Troy. Of these the Arthurian legend is typical, and as before stated, the important English source for the spirit of mediaeval romance.

With the above as a brief review of its growth, what were the elements in these mediaeval cycles that were thought of as romantic? They were, I believe: a love of marvellous and improbable adventures, as with giants, dragons, magic swords, ghosts, and supernatural spirits or personages; a chivalric element, distinguished by a code of conduct or passion, as in Ovid's "Art of Love", and perhaps an exaltation of illegitimate passion. This stage, at any rate, has to do in some sort with conduct, as of a knight before his lady love, and so with morals; ^{and third,} a religious element, often at war with the chivalric, - "the ethics of the court clashing with the ethics of the cloister", - though sometimes, as in the Crusades, in accord with it; and finally, a spirit running through all types of romance, of QUEST, of outreaching, of aspiration, like Gothic cathedrals reaching to the infinite; and whether the interest be war, love, or religion - the great triple interest of mediaeval romance - this questing spirit is sure to be present. It is the unity of interest that this spirit gives these romances which often prevents their descending into a mere series of meaningless meanderings.

As to the importance of the quest motive in these early romances, Professor Saintsbury is a convincing witness. "Prominent above everything (in mediaeval romance) is the world-old motive of the quest, which world-

¹W. P. Ker, Epic and Romance, (1897), p. 335.

old as it is, here acquires a predominance that it has never held before or since. The object takes pretty various, though not quite infinitely various, forms, from the rights of the disinherited heir to the hand or favour of the heroine, to individual things which may themselves vary from the Holy Grail to so many hairs of the sultan's beard. It may be a friendly knight who is lost in adventure, or a felon knight who has to be punished for his trespasses; a spell of some kind to be laid; a monster to be exterminated; an injured virgin or lady or an infirm potentate to be succoured or avenged; an evil custom or adventure to be achieved. But quest of some sort there must almost certainly be if (as in *Sir Launfal*, for instance) it is but the recovery of a love forfeited by misbehaviour or mishap. It is almost a *sine qua non*,—the present writer thinking over scores, nay hundreds of romances, cannot at the moment remember one where it is wanting in some form or other. In many, perhaps most, cases the love interest is directly connected with the quest,...the war interest is always so connected,...and the religious interest is almost universally so."¹

Not to labor the order of development too much, the progress of romance in the middle ages seems to have been about as follows: first, crude adventures with giants, a child-like supernaturalism, and the romance of action, war, and adventure in the physical world; second, a chivalric love motive, with a stress on love, on manners, and on moral conduct; and third, the religious motive, with its tendency to mysticism and allegory, and a deepening of the subjective, spiritual side of romanticism. And underlying and uniting all three is the ideal of the quest, a desire for the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. In Malory's "*Morte d'Arthur*" we have all these elements in combination. As examples of rough adventure, there are

¹ George Saintsbury, *Romance*, Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th ed., V.23, pp. 500-504

fighte with dragons, fierce knightly encounters, and giants that roast children on spits; the ideal of chivalric love gives us the stories of Tristram and Iseult, and of Lancelot and Guenevere, with Lancelot's quest for absolution from his guilty passion; and the theme of religion is symbolized in the quest for the Holy Grail, and Sir Galahad's more than chivalric aspirations. How these themes of war, love, and religion, and their embodiment in the romantic quests of the soldier, the lover, and the holy crusader of mediaeval romanticism affected the English novel and the themes and heroes of romance in English fiction demands consideration.

II.

THE FAILURE OF MEDIAEVAL ROMANTICISM TO INFLUENCE THE ENGLISH
NOVEL BEFORE 1750.

Since in the narrative art of Malory mediaeval romanticism had reached so high a level, it would be natural to expect its themes and heroes to be influential in whatever fiction there was between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. The record, however, of such influences is a disappointing one. The surprising maturity of theme and plot in both Malory's story, and in Chaucer's "Troilus and Cressida" do indeed invite comparison with modern works of fiction. Professor Saintsbury, for example, makes the comparison of Malory's art with the modern novel as follows, "The Arthurian Legend is the greatest of mediaeval creations as a subject--a 'fable',-- just as the Divina Commedia is the greatest of mediaeval 'imitations' and works of art. And as such it is inevitable that it should carry with it the sense of the greatest mediaeval differences, Chivalry and Romance. The strong point of these differences is the way in which they combine the three great motives, as Dante isolates them, of Valour, Love, and Religion. The ancients never realized this combination at all; the moderns have merely struggled after it, or blasphemed it in fox-and-grapes fashion: the mediaevals had it,-- in theory at any rate. The Round Table stories merely as such illustrate Valour; the Graal stories Religion; the passion of Lancelot and Guinevere, with the minor instances, Love." "It is a great romance, if not the greatest of romances: it has a great novel, if not the greatest of novels, written in sympathetic ink between the lines, and with more than a little of the writing sometimes emerging to view."¹ Another striking resemblance of a mediaeval narrative to the novel of modern times Professor Cross points out in his discussion of Chaucer's "Troilus and Cressida".² The subtle psychological analysis evident in Chaucer's

¹George Saintsbury, The English Novel, (1913), pp.27-30.

²W.L.Cross, The Development of the English Novel, (1899), p.6.

portrayal of Cressida, the shrewd practical character of Pandarus, the intensity of dramatic imagination, and the Elizabethan-tragedy plot structure, are all, he finds eminently fitted to be the precedents for a school of novel writers. But that the work of Malory or Chaucer aided the growth of the English novel or influenced its themes or heroic ideals before the eighteenth century, is more than doubtful. Malory and Chaucer influenced England's poets, Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, but not her novelists. Lyly's "Euphues" (1579-80), and Nash's "Jack Wilton" (1594) are as formless and disintegrated as they well could have been had Chaucer or Malory never written. This lack of continuity in the development of the English novel is one of the irritating facts which historians of the novel who like a good straight sweep of progress have to reckon with. It is Professor Cross who remarks that "With the exception of 'Don Quixote', 'Pilgrim's Progress', and 'The Princess of Clèves', nearly everything else that has been mentioned (up to Bunyan, that is) is as if it had never been written. That such a fate should have overcome the old romances is to be lamented by everyone acquainted with their lovely imagery and inspiring conduct. But it was inevitable, for they almost invariably failed in their art."¹

We are forced then to the conclusion that the romantic spirit came to its highest point in the cycles of romance--in England in Malory's "Morte d'Arthur"--and that with the decline of chivalry and the beginnings of the renaissance, it lingered on, showing itself again in the spirit of the Elizabethan poets and in Milton. From then until the beginnings of the nineteenth century romantic movement, English romanticism in general remained quiescent. Arcadias there were and Arcadian dreamers, as witness Sidney's "Arcadia" (1590). In fiction, however, the heroes and dreams of the chivalric middle ages are no longer powerful. Only in poetry and in

¹W. L. Cross, The Development of the English Novel, (1899), p.25.

Arcadian romances is its spirit still alive, a spirit that not until the late eighteenth century was again to become in fiction a serious energy in ideals and character.

MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN ELEMENTS IN ENGLISH ROMANTICISM AFTER 1750.

Though the themes and heroes of the romantic quest in mediaeval legend had little influence on the rise and development of English fiction before 1750, they did have some influence on the romantic revival in both fiction and poetry during the latter half of the eighteenth century. As it was during this revival that the hero of the romantic quest first made his appearance in modern English fiction, it is important to discover the character of the romanticism which he there embodied, and its relation to the heroes and themes of mediaeval romance. What, then, was this modern romanticism; in what respects was it a return to the romantic quests of the mediaeval heroes, and in what respects new and creative?

It is not the purpose of the following exposition to give any very new answers to the much discussed riddle, what is romanticism, but merely to review some of the more suggestive definitions as a prelude to a discussion of the quest motive in romanticism and in the romantic novel. What do we mean then, when we speak of romanticism? One of the most famous definitions is that of Heine in his book "The Romantic School in Germany", in which he says: "In Germany it was naught else than the reawakening of the poetry of the middle ages as it manifested itself in the poems, paintings, sculptures, and in the art and life of those times." And by the poetry of the middle ages, Heine goes on to say, he refers to its Christian humility, "the melancholic passion flower that had been developed from the blood of Christ", and to its allegorical striving "to represent the infinite".¹

With this idea Mme de Stael is in agreement, though inclined perhaps to emphasize chivalry more than Christianity as an element. Pater in his "Studies in the Renaissance" contrasts classicism and romanticism;

¹H. Heine, The Romantic School, (1833), (Fleishman translation) pp.6-15.

classicism he finds is "order in beauty", and romanticism "strangeness in beauty", combined with an element of curiosity. Waits-Runtton describes what Pater meant by curiosity as "the renaissance of wonder", and Dr. F. H. Hedge as "wonder plus mystery, a sense of something hidden, of imperfection, the essence of which is aspiration." The sense of mystery he believes due to the influence of wild nature, and of the "Christian religion, which deepened immensely the mystery of life, suggesting something beyond and behind the world of sense".¹ And in an article on "Novalis and the Blue Flower", Professor Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen, thinking perhaps especially of German romanticism, says: "Romantic poetry invariably deals with longing; not a definite formulated desire for some attainable object, but a dim, mysterious aspiration, a trembling unrest, a vague sense of kinship with the infinite, and a consequent dissatisfaction with every form of happiness which the world has to offer. The object of romantic longing, therefore, so far as it has any object, is the ideal--the ideal of happiness, the ideal of a woman, the ideal of social perfection, The blue flower is the watchword and sacred symbol of this school".²

Sidney Colvin and Professor Saintsbury think the method of treatment more important than the subject matter, but agree that this "method" must produce mystery, as in allegory, or a vague atmosphere of suggestion and wonder. Bagehot sees classicism as "pure", romanticism as "ornate and grotesque"; Goethe called classicism health, and romanticism disease; and others have contrasted them as energy versus method; or freedom, fancy, caprice, versus order, lucidity, proportion. Professor Phelps in "The Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement" tries to sum up the various

¹ Dr. F. H. Hedge, Classic and Romantic, Atlantic Monthly, March, 1886.

² H. H. Boyesen, Novalis and the Blue Flower, Atlantic Monthly, December, 1875.

feelings about life at that time, the story being written to defray the funeral expenses of his mother. Rasselas is thus but an oriental disguise for Dr. Johnson himself. Though we here see life as a quest, it must be confessed that there is here a somewhat drab prospect even for those who follow duty, with few hopes of any very romantic beautitudes or splendours at the end of the pursuit. The result is not much, but it is the best there is. Rasselas, the hero of this moral quest, is the dogged Englishman of the eighteenth century, puzzled by the arguments of the philosophers, on fixed fate, foreknowledge, God, and nature. The imagination is dulled, the spirit weary, yet he holds with tenacity to the rock of moral conduct and faith in some future reward for those who follow duty. Rasselas is a hero of a moral and philosophical quest, but not of a romantic quest. The light that never was on sea or land was denied to the eighteenth century, and it remained for the lurid fires of the French Revolution to reveal man's progress as a thing of romantic splendour. In "Rasselas", however, Dr. Johnson completed the second stage in the development of oriental romance. With this tale the bizarre has been motivated; the beautiful but empty-souled heroes and heroines of the East have acquired moral balance, and philosophical profundity. The gaudy dream-world of youth has been exchanged for the sad human disillusion of a middle-aged spirituality. Conduct is here three-fourths of life, and adventure only frames the picture. One thinks of the eighteenth century oriental tale as the limbo of romanticism, afraid of the glad, terrible, chaotic early world of adventure and passion, and though catching, like Moses, a glimpse of the promised spiritual inheritance beyond, doomed to travel still on the foggy plains of reason, with an honest virtue and moral philosophy as consolation and guide. The inheritor of romance itself who was to combine these two early stages of romanticism,

in the Methodist and Evangelical revival led by Wesley and Whitefield, and in the sentimentalism which manifested itself in the writings of Richardson and Sterne. Corresponding to these on the continent were German pietism, the transcendental philosophy of Kant, and his continuators, and the emotional excess of works like Rousseau's "Nouvelle Heloise", and Goethe's 'Sorrows of Werther'."¹

Turning from these definitions to a somewhat more philosophical treatment in Mr. P. E. More's discussion of the union of the occident and the orient in the middle ages, we find more of a tendency to see romanticism as a single movement, evolving and developing. "In this vague yearning of the intellect for the infinite fulness of the Father, and the birth of the world from emotion (pathos), I seem to see into the real heart of what after many centuries was to be called romanticism,—the infinitely craving personality, the usurpation of emotion over reason, the idealization of love, the perilous fascination that may go with these confusions. It is like a dream of fever, beautiful and malign by turns; and looking at its wild sources, one can understand why Goethe curtly called romanticism disease, and classicism health....The historic romanticism of the nineteenth century when it strikes its central note, whether it be the morbid egotism of a Beckford, or the religious defalcation of a Newman, or the aestheticism of a Pater, or the dregs of a naturalistic pantheism seen in a Fiona Macleod, or the impotent revolt from humanitarian sympathy of a Nietzsche--this romanticism is in its essence a denial of classical dualism,...a substitution of the..limitless expansion of our impulsive

¹ H. A. Beers, A History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century, (1899) p. 31.

nature for that true infinite within the heart of man, which is not of nature, and whose voice is heard as the inner check, restraining, centralizing, forming."¹

Such a view of romanticism is, of course, designed to lay bare the evils that lie beneath its mask of beauty, and will hardly be taken as a sound or well-balanced view of the whole movement, so much as of its excesses. It has, nevertheless, the merit of seeing romanticism as an historical and philosophical movement, as a chapter in the quest of the human spirit for the ultimate satisfactions, and as such puts the emphasis on the too little emphasized element of romance, whether mediaeval or modern, the element of the quest.

And the above descriptions of philosophers and historians are a fairly accurate account of the movement if we test them with the romantic productions in prose and verse, and with the romantic documents of the time. The return to mediaevalism is shown in Walpole, Macpherson, Percy's "Reliques", the Spenserian revival; the stress on sentimentality in Brooke, and Sterne, and Richardson; the return to nature in Thomson's "Seasons", the poetry of Blake, the "Lyrical Ballads", in Bentham's laissez faire policy, (let natural competition rule), as well as in Rousseau's golden age idea; and in documents, Hurd's "Letters on Chivalry and Romance," Wharton's "History of English Poetry", and his "Observations on the Faery Queen", and Wordsworth's "Prefaces to the Lyrical Ballads"; all bear witness to the above views of romanticism as a return to nature, to mediaevalism, to emotional and imaginative revival, and to a love of the mystic, the wonderful, the remote and infinite.

¹Paul Elmer More, The Drift of Romanticism, (1913), pp.30, 233.

IV.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MOTIVE OF THE QUEST IN MODERN ROMANTICISM.

If now we glance over the above definitions, and works of art and criticism, what do we find is the importance in modern romanticism of the motive of the quest? In the first place, these definitions can, I think, without doing much violence to truth be reduced to three general tendencies: a revolt or desire to escape from restraints and disciplines such as the formalism of the eighteenth century or Puritan Christianity demanded; a yearning for the ideals and customs which they thought they found in the middle ages, such as the picturesque, the subjective, the chivalric, the infinite; and finally, a theme new to romance, the desire to return to nature, either for emotional life and freedom, or on a scientific quest for progress. That is to say, this romanticism was in general a revolt from the traditional disciplines, and a quest for a new world of imagination and emotion in the life of the middle ages, and in the life of nature.

The first idea of romanticism as a revolt, a French Revolution smashing the cherished beliefs and structures of an unquesting eighteenth century classicism is a common place of criticism, and need not be much dwelt on. The peruke, the formal garden, the common sense, the polished couplet, the worldliness, the love of satire and reason, the age of prose, the mimet, the ruffled gentleman; the hatred of enthusiasm, of wild scenery, of emotion, of the unconventional; and the closing of the eyes to high seriousness and the upper reaches of the imagination: all these were of the eighteenth century, and against them the nineteenth century revolted. "If the philosophy of the time was unfitted for poetry, it was, for the same reason, unfitted to stimulate the emotions, and therefore for practical life. With Shakespeare, or Sir Thomas Browne, or Jeremy Taylor, or Milton, man is contemplated in his relations to the universe; he is in the presence of eternity and infinity; life is a brief dream; we are ephemeral actors in

a vast drama; heaven and hell are behind the veil of phenomena; at every step our friends vanish into the vast abyss of ever-present mystery. To all such thoughts the writers of the eighteenth century seemed to close their eyes as absolutely as possible.....The greatest men amongst them, a Swift or a Johnson, have indeed a sense...of the pettiness of our lives and the narrow limits of our knowledge. No great man could ever be without it. But the awe of the infinite and the unseen does not induce them to brood over the mysterious, and find utterance for bewildered musings on the inscrutable enigma. It is felt only in a certain habitual sadness which clouds their whole tone of thought. They turn their backs upon the infinite, and abandon the effort at a solution. Their eyes are fixed upon the world around them, and they regard as foolish and presumptuous any one who dares to contemplate the great darkness."¹

The second idea of romanticism as a quest whose object was the middle ages, deserves perhaps more illustration as an idea now not often stressed in romantic stories, and so unfamiliar to readers of the more modern romances. The revival of the middle ages Professor Beers chooses as the dominating idea of his two volumes on eighteenth and nineteenth century romanticism, and by middle ages he means that spirit of strange beauty and yearning for the infinite of which the middle ages was the great example. Professor Babbitt, on the other hand, though agreeing in general with Professor Beers, thinks it unfortunate to stress too much the return to the middle ages. He says, "We must not like Heine and many others look on the romantic movement as merely a return to the Middle Ages... The men of the Middle Ages themselves understood by romance, not simply their own kind of

¹ Leslie Stephen, English Thought in the Eighteenth Century, (1881), Vol.II, Bk.4, Chap. 12, p.370.

speech and writing in contrast with what was written in Latin, but the kind of writing in which the pursuit of strangeness and adventure predominated. This...will be found to predominate in all types of romanticism. The type of romanticism, however, which came in towards the end of the eighteenth century did...not simply revert to old types. It was primarily not a romanticism of thought or action, but a romanticism of feeling."¹ That is, the romanticists returned to the Middle Ages as they did to the orient, or to Greece and Rome, or as they did to the exploration of the wild portions of the earth, for a renaissance of emotion, and a new stimulation of the imagination. Milton's romantic use of proper names, and his love of the remote places of the earth

Past Mozambic where north-east winds blow
Sabeian odours from the spicy shore
Of Araby the Blest,

remind one in this connection of Wordsworth's revival of the sense of remoteness in the imaginative use of proper names:

Breaking the silence of the seas
Among the farthest Hebrides.

Whether or no the Middle Ages actually was romantic in the way the nineteenth century was is a matter of some disagreement. Professor Babbitt thinks it was so in the pursuit of strangeness and adventure, but not in its quest for emotional rapture. Scott, for instance, according to this view, would be more mediaeval than Coleridge, though Coleridge has far more magic than Scott, and would therefore be thought of today as far more romantic. Professor W. P. Ker and Professor Babbitt are in agreement that adventure rather than the emotional dreams of Spenser or Coleridge is to be found in the old cycles of romance. Malory's "Morte

¹Irving Babbitt, Rousseau and Romanticism, (1919), P. 31.

d'Arthur", Professor Ker finds, is one of the very few mediaeval romances that has this quality, this magic of wonder.¹ And Professor Beers says, "The Middle Age was not at all points romantic: it is the modern romanticist who makes or finds it so." With these views Professor Saintsbury, however, enthusiastically disagrees. He says, There is more of the abstract spirit of poetry in the literature of the Middle Ages than in any other literature. "The sense of mystery which had rarely troubled the keen intellect of the Greek and the sturdy common sense of the Roman....was always present to the mediaeval mind. In its broadest and coarsest jests, in its most laborious and (as we are pleased to call them) dullest expansions of stories, in its most wire-drawn and most lifeless allegory, in its most irritating admixture of science and fable, there is always hard by, always ready to break in, the sense of the great and wonderful things of Life, and Love, and Death, of the half-known God, and the unknown Hereafter. It is this which gives to Romance, and to mediaeval work generally that "high seriousness", the want of which was so strangely cast at it in reproach by a critic who, I cannot but think was less intimately acquainted with its literature than with that either of classical or of modern times."²

But though there is a quarrel as to just what the Middle Ages actually had in the way of romance, whether romantic in strangeness and adventure like Scott, or subjectively in magic emotional glamour and infinite illusion, what Novalis called "the never ending quest after the ever fleeting object of desire", all will agree that the nineteenth century revived the Middle Ages because it thought it found there the

¹ W. P. Ker, Epic and Romance, 1897, p. 371 ff.

² George Saintsbury, The Flourishing of Romance, (1897), pp. 423-424.

imaginative liberation of an open country. No one tried to revive the feudal system or the scientific views of the early world. The quest was for illusion, for Arcadia, for the land of heart's desire.

Romanticism as a return to nature, a quest for emotional freedom, and for the millenium by scientific study of nature's laws, and so for progress, is another of the principal motives in the renaissance of romance, a motive not found in the mediaeval romances. Wordsworth's deification of nature where he finds,

A motion and a spirit which impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things;

Byron's desire to "mingle with the universe" and feel himself a part of all that is; Rousseau's revery, or "the imaginative melting of man into nature"; the faery ladies of Keats and Coleridge and their strange traffic with the supernatural side of nature; and Browning's exaltation of natural intensity, are but a few of the infinite sides and shadings of this emotional naturalism. Chateaubriand's cult of nature with its "noble savages" and the golden age in the past of primitive man was a curiously unhistorical but popular treatment of the theme. The Gothic revival also was aided by the introductions of natural spirits, mystical forests, and creatures half brute, half human, wandering Jews with a thousand year lease on existence, elixirs of life, as in Godwin, and hearts of flame, as in Vathek's Hall of Eblis. Nature to the romanticists soon became a mine of riches, an infinite quest for the absolute, and a new religion of emotional adventure and solace.

The other side of the naturalistic revival, the scientific and humanitarian side, came about as the resultant of two forces: of the discoveries of the College of Research (the Royal Society) which Bacon had

recommended in his "New Atlantis" (1627), and the consequent hope of building up a new heaven on earth; and secondly, as a result of the Deistic emphasis on benevolence, and on the rational in nature, the argument, that is, of beneficent design. Men grew to trust that by a reasonable study of nature's laws on the one hand, and by an emotional surrender to her, on the other, since

Nature never did betray the heart that loved her,
the millenium must soon be established. Godwin's and Holcroft's novels emphasize the humanitarian side of this movement; and later Lytton's "Coming Age", Bellamy's "Looking Backward", and H. G. Wells' "What is Coming", are good examples of scientific ideas of natural progress.

It is not, then, I think, ill advised to assert that the idea of the quest, which Professor Saintsbury found so important in the mediaeval romances, is in the revival of romanticism quite as important. The romance writers of poetry and fiction in England, France, and Germany have, whether consciously and critically or not, realized this, and their works are full of beautiful expressions symbolizing this infinite indeterminate desire: the blue flower or bird, la belle dame sans merci, or the quest of the golden girl, a peak in Darien, to sail beyond the sunset and the baths of all the western stars, etc. The historians of the movement, however, have not been so apt to stress this element of pilgrimage, having perhaps been too subjectively absorbed in the prospect of the vision ahead, to observe objectively the pursuit of the vision. The most adequate recognition of romanticism as a quest seems to be found in the modern scholarship of Mr. P. E. More and Professor Babbitt, and the humanistic school of critics in France and America. The very title of Mr. More's book, "The Drift of Romanticism," emphasizes the thought that the romanticist is

without a sure course or harbor, and Professor Babbitt's discussions of romanticism are largely concerned with arguments against the aberrations and decadence and wild chaos into which he believes the romantic quest is hurrying the modern world. It is, indeed, this desire to combat romanticism that has enabled the moderns to attempt to unify its phenomena under some general laws of development and tendency, and that has revealed so clearly the quest motive, the dissatisfaction with the real, and the pursuit of the ideal, of dream-like illusion, which is at the heart of modern romanticism.

VOGUE, CHARACTERISTICS, AND IMPORTANCE OF THE HERO OF THE
ROMANTIC QUEST IN THE MODERN ENGLISH NOVEL.

So far this introduction has concerned itself with the general features of romanticism in order to make clear the background from which the romantic novel arose, comparing mediaeval and modern romanticism, and estimating the importance of the motive of the quest in both types. What remains to be considered is the influence which romanticism finally came to have on the English novel, and the vogue, characteristics, and importance of the hero of the romantic quest in that fiction.

The extent of the influence of romanticism on the English novel is so well known, that a brief outline of some of the chief novelists and groups of novels of romanticism will suffice to recall it to the mind. In the Gothic Romance one thinks at once of the names of Walpole, Clara Reeve, Beckford, Monk Lewis, Mrs. Radcliffe, Brockden Brown, Godwin, and Maturin. In Historical Romance Scott's novels, with their return to a mediaevalism of costume and action, and the romance of history, are responsible for troops of descendants in Europe and England. Disraeli, Bulwer Lytton, Kingsley, Ainsworth, G.P.R. James, Thackeray, Hugo, Dumas, Sienkiewicz, and Tolstoy are but some of the best known of these. Besides these two groups of romantic novelists, there are also in English fiction a good many new types of romancers, types less dependent on mediaeval or historical themes, but striking out in new directions with stories of scholar gypsies, nympholeptics, perfectibilians, mystics, art questers, worshippers of nature, of nihilism, and so on in ever growing profusion.

That all romantic novels contain heroes of the romantic quest is not however to be inferred. A novel may easily be romantic without itself portraying a quest or a hero of the quest. Such a novel may, for

instance, be written for the sake of its atmosphere of beauty and strangeness, and so reveal merely the quest of the author for a dreamland, but the dreamland itself may be quite static, contented, an Eden before the fall, and contain no pilgrims of the search. Such novels may be romantic, but they are not novels of the romantic quest. The atmospheric or utopian romance is not in modern fiction a very popular type, as it lacks action, and tends to become not a novel, but an ideal republic or utopia. More's "Utopia", and Sidney's "Arcadia" remain the best known examples of this type.

Then again a novel may have in it a romantic atmosphere, and romantic scenes, and even portray or recommend a quest, and yet fail to embody the quest in a hero. The purpose of such novels is often didactic, like problem novels, or tractarian novels, or, to use the German name, Kultur Novellen. The heroes of these novels may be victims under a curse of the devil, of society, or of moral degradation; there is action, inanimate forces destroy their victims, perhaps, or as mere puppets the characters may illustrate a social reform, or a religious revival, but throughout there is no uncontrollable pursuit in which the hero is engaged; lacking a master passion and an heroic imagination, he fails to set before himself any high aim or elusive romance, and so becomes more static than dynamic or romantic, and can scarcely be termed a hero of the romantic quest. The author of such novels presents his hero rather as a model than as a seeker, a shining example of what we may become if we will but pursue his perfection. These novels, like the novels of romantic atmosphere, often fall flat, as the quest is apt to be imperfectly presented unless it is embodied in a questing hero. Rousseau's "Nouvelle Heloise", and Bellamy's "Looking Backward", are examples of this kind of novel, the novel of the quest, but

lacking in an evolving, dynamic hero who is more than a lay figure set up as an ideal to quest toward. There are a good many novels of this type, but with them this study is not primarily concerned.

With the elimination then of these two types of romantic novels from consideration, there remains the question as to what extent modern romantic novelists do embody the quest in a hero. The number of such novels is great. They begin in the Gothic romance, and in the Perfectibilian novels in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; Scott does something with such a hero, though not so much as might at first be expected; and then beginning about 1830, after forty years of experimentation with the new type, Bulwer Lytton, Disraeli, Borrow, Balzac, Newman, Kingsley, and Hawthorne discover the theme, and from then on it increases in volume and importance down to H. G. Wells; so much so that almost every important social or religious movement during the century gets embodied in a novel, and in a hero who is a living example of the movement. This adaptability of the theme to modern times is one of the most noticeable characteristics of the history of romanticism in the modern novel. Though the hero of the romantic quest began with an impulse caught from mediaeval romanticism, he is in many ways original. It is true that there were a few examples of such a hero and quest before the romantic revival, "Pilgrim's Progress" being the best known, but except in Scott and the Gothic novel, the mediaeval elements in modern fiction have largely disappeared, and the hero of the romantic quest today is a new kind of romantic hero, a perfectibilian, a mystic, a worshiper of art, or nature, a nympholeptic, or a scholar gypsy, but seldom a hero with characteristics distinctly mediaeval.

Since the hero of the romantic quest is so largely modern, it becomes proper to ask what are the characteristics of the type hero, the

hero of the romantic quest; how, that is, is he defined? And what are the distinguishing features of a romantic quest? THE HERO OF THE ROMANTIC QUEST is an idealist who believes consciously or by implication, that some imperfection or omission or curse of human nature, or some hostility or flaw or indifference in environment, prevents or is in conflict with the right condition of the individual or of society; who believes that by some talisman of renunciation, action, thought, or feeling, man may achieve his utopia; and who feels innate in him the spirit for such a quest.

And as to the romantic quest itself, the ideal of the romantic quest, it should I think be defined and limited affirmatively as follows: The IDEAL of the romantic quest should be: (1) consciously pursued, (2) yet unattained, (3) founded in the spirit or temperament of the hero, (4) the master passion of the hero, and (5) of enough distinction and rarity to be termed heroic. And by way of limitation or negative definition, it will I think be within the limits of the term romantic to exclude from the quest: (1) worldly success, (2) the dissemination of a truth already possessed, (3) a search that affects merely the reason of the hero, (4) merely the desire or search for a lover or companion, and (5) merely sensual gratification.

The above account of the extent of the romantic novel, and of the themes and heroes of a romantic quest in the novel, will perhaps do something to indicate the importance to the student of fiction of the study here proposed. The extent of the field, and the significance of the appearance of such a hero as the one described, will not, it may be thought, have escaped the attention of historians and critics of the novel. An examination of the accounts they give of such a hero or theme, does not, however, do much to strengthen such a belief. Their present treatment of

the theme of the romantic quest as a unifying motive of romanticism is at best fragmentary, and that there is a definite type of character, a new-old genre, a hero of the romantic quest, is not, I believe, adequately if at all appreciated among students of the novel. The failure to discover such a type and theme is due I think to the same causes as made the criticism of romanticism itself for such a long time fragmentary and un-unified, i.e., a disposition to look only at single works of art, or at small sections of the field, the desire to give somewhat hasty descriptions of a work in itself, and the lack of any philosophical motive for regarding romanticism as an organic whole. The fact too that the study of the novel has not been seriously attempted until comparatively modern times, and that special studies of fiction are even today unusual, perhaps accounts for the neglect of this particular subject. A study of heroic types in any field of literature is unusual, though not unknown, as the rare appearance of a work like Dr. C. V. Boyer's "The Villain As Hero in Elizabethan Tragedy" (1914), shows. What one does find in the present histories of the novel ~~at present~~ is an account of the author's technique, descriptive accounts of particular works or classes of works, and some attention to the backgrounds and social forces from which the works arose. What in general they ignore is the recurrence of dominant themes or heroic types, and so they fail to show how from author to author a theme or hero may change and evolve from a stage which was at first embryonic to the stage of maturity and renown. Though no doubt such considerations are more proper to special studies than to general histories of fiction, yet even there a somewhat greater attention to the evolution of characters and themes would perhaps help to bring order and a principle of growth into what too often seems fragmentary and unrelated. As a preliminary to such an attempt to

trace in English fiction the rise and growth of the hero of the romantic quest, I wish therefore to set down in the order of its publication what matter there is that bears on the subject in the histories and criticisms of the novel, and so to clear the field for the problems that seem to me to demand treatment in the proposed study.

In his "History of Prose Fiction" (1812, revised 1888), for instance, J. C. Dunlop treats of mediaeval romance, and of the romances from Italy and Spain that were popular in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries under the headings of spiritual, comic, political, utopian, pastoral, and heroic romances, describing examples of each type by giving short synopses of the stories, and brief excerpts of good passages, but doing very little by way of correlation or definition of the types or of their underlying characteristics. As an example of his inaptness in drawing philosophical conclusions or analogies, his remarks on the folly of thinking Walpole's "Castle of Otranto" romantic are instructive. "What analogy", he says, "have skulls or skeletons - sliding panels - damp vaults - trap doors - and dismal apartments, to the tented fields of chivalry and its airy enchantments?"¹ The search for the strange and horrible by which Walpole stimulated his imagination, a search that seems to us romantic enough, does not seem to strike him as having in it something of the unrest and desire for adventure that sent the mediaeval hero forth in quest of giants and dragons. Obviously our ideas of the romantic have grown much more complex than Dunlop's were.

Sir Walter Scott, writing a little later his Essay on Romance, adopts Dunlop's classification of romances, as temporal, spiritual, comic, pastoral, heroic, and supernatural, but in trying to define the element

¹J. C. Dunlop, History of Prose Fiction, (1911), II, 578.

that is essential to romanticism, he hits on "wild adventures", or "marvellous and uncommon incidents". To the subjective, infinitely yearning side of romanticism Scott both as a critic and as a writer of romance is inclined to pay little attention. To the quest motive as such he pays little attention in his criticism, though he describes and writes numerous romances in which the quest for adventure is a dominating ideal. In "Waverley" we have a rather rare example of Scott interested in the sentimental romanticist, though as compared with the unrest of Novalis, Scott's is a kind of surface interest. Edward Waverley, as Scott portrays him, is a mild hero, a youth not going on any very definite quest, but quietly indulging in reverie, loving solitude, and shunning the real world. Waverley's was a sentimental quest rather than a romantic one, a quest carried on in his own mind, and debilitating to success or to a spirit of action. Far from romanticising or glorifying such a spirit, Scott, as a robust English nature would, condemns his hero for his lack of sound habits, and of the incentive to act. "A romantic lover", he says, "is a strange idolator who cares not out of what log he frames the object of his adoration."¹ In general the spiritual or subjective romance is foreign to Scott's genius; his is "the big bow wow strain," that is, the romance of acting, fighting, crusading, or making love with a healthy and picturesque liberality. In his book on the historical romance in the romantic epoch, M. Maigron suggests as the three streams of influence that are important in the historical romance, the idealistic, the realistic, and the picturesque, and in his discussion of Scott as the moving force in this type of fiction, he also notes that the picturesque quality in personages, actions, descriptions, and dialogues, is the chief element of

¹ Walter Scott, Waverley, chapter 5.

his romance.¹

Turning now to some of the modern historians of the novel we find in them an increased conception of the varieties and subtleties of romanticism, though little attention to the quest. Professor Walter Raleigh treats admirably of the cycles of romance, their growth and themes of adventure, love and chivalry; and of the imitations of these current in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, where "Love and ambition are the mainsprings of life, the only things that the magnanimous man finds life worth living, or death worth dying for; these are the very essentials of the heroic romance." And later, when he comes to discuss the Revival of Romance, he lists as important features, "the revived feeling for nature, the introduction of exotic methods and models, the renewed interest in mediaevalism, the increased employment of pictorial effects in literature." These qualities, with the renewed interest in the supernatural, Professor Raleigh finds are the essential elements of the School of Terror which produced the Gothic romance. The French Revolution, and the doctrines of the rights of man he credits with founding the School of Theory which reflects itself in the novels of Godwin, Holcroft, Bage, Rousseau, and Mrs. Inchbald. Certainly such descriptions are superior to those in the early histories of the novel, but as seems inevitable in covering much matter in little space, discussions of character types is reduced to a minimum.²

Professor Cross treats the novel of romance in much the same manner as Professor Raleigh, separating romances into the novel of purpose, the gothic romance, the historical romance, the romance of war, and of the forest, and the sea, adding to Professor Raleigh's account a recognition of the relation of some of the modern romances to socialism, psychic

¹M. Maïeron, Le Roman Historique A L'Epoque Romantique, (1912).

²Walter Raleigh, The English Novel, (1894).

research, science, and the movements of today.¹

Even Professor Saintsbury, except for his suggestion that the quest, so important in mediaeval romance, has never been so important before or since, does not seem to examine the matter further to see whether or not his statement is correct. Like Raleigh and Cross he notes the picturesque gothic romance, and the revolutionary romance in the late eighteenth century, adding to their accounts a somewhat more minute treatment of the material, but he too does not attempt to unify the ideals or pursuits of these romances under any general philosophic or evolving principles of growth.²

Turning now from the historians of the novel to the students of special tendencies, there is in their work some recognition of the quest as an important element in romanticism, but still little study of the élan as it takes possession of a hero, and catches him up and sweeps him along in its movement. In France in the reaction against Rousseau during the latter part of the nineteenth century, and in America in the humanistic reaction against romanticism, naturalism, and mediaevalism, there has come lately to be a definite recognition of romanticism as a quest. M. Lanson in writing of Rousseau might almost be said to be giving a hostile description of the revolutionary hero of the quest. "He is", M. Lanson says of Rousseau, "a poor dreamy creature who approaches action only with alarm and with every manner of precaution, and who understands the applications of his boldest doctrines in a way to reassure conservatives, and satisfy opportunists. But the work for its part detaches itself from the author, lives its independent life, and, heavily charged with revolutionary explosives which neutralize the moderate and con-

¹ Wilbur Cross, The Development of the English Novel, (1899).

² George Saintsbury, The English Novel, (1913)

ciliatory elements Rousseau has put into it for his own satisfaction, it exasperates and inspires revolt and fires enthusiasm and irritates hatreds; it is the mother of violence, the source of all that is uncompromising, it launches the simple souls who give themselves up to its strange virtue upon the desperate quest of the absolute, an absolute to be realized now by anarchy and now by social despotism."¹

In general agreement with the position of the humanist who cries out against the eccentric quest for emotion, and the absolute in nature, is a recent book by Mr. Wilson Follett, which discusses the modern novel largely with a view to finding in it special tendencies, such as sentimentalism, or humanism. He is in general agreement with the humanists in finding that a principle of control is the chief thing in a work of art, and he examines the novel to "show how the development of certain principles of fictional criticism have altered the shape of the modern novel." The Chief of these principles he finds in the control which certain large ideas, as in Hardy the idea of man as the plaything of nature, have imposed on the novel, the unity that is of tone, or of suggestiveness, of idea, or of motive.

In his treatment of romance Mr. Follett finds that the chief romantic virtue is the love of the remote and strange, the romantic novelist being "like a mystic devotee groping after the unknowable, and half realizing the while that all the virtue is in the groping not in the knowing." And the hero of realism he contrasts with the hero of romance, "the realist is the indulgent lover who would have his mistress as she is, ...your romancer is the passionate lover who cannot bear that his mistress

¹M. Lanson, Annales de la Societe Jean-Jacques Rousseau, VIII, 30-31.

Quoted in Irving Babbitt's Rousseau and Romanticism, pp. XVII, XVIII.

should be in any wise less than his thought of her".¹ In the chapter on Satire Mr. Follett speaks of "the passing of the villain in English literature", an account that shows the author to be somewhat alive to the existence of a certain type of modern quester. "With the assimilation of the romantic blend of humanitarianism and individualism, the villain found two possible destinies awaiting him. He could become the Byronic hero, a superman full of sin, and Weltschmerz, and glamour, a dark, fallen angel, an attitudinizing rebel hero; or he could become a human being just a little on the lower side of the medium of average human goodness--the victim of accidents in heredity or circumstance, a weaker brother, but not a compendium of all possible malice and unscrupulousness. Where the romantic individualism triumphed, as in the earlier Bulwer Lytton, the villain became the Byronic hero; where the romantic humanitarianism triumphed, as in Dickens, the villain became a human being--with a sentimental proclivity, it must be added, for becoming in the last chapter an unnaturally good one."¹

The bibliographical arrangement at the end of this book gives a new sort of grouping of novels under such headings as utopian romances, novels of protest, social satirists, naturalism, impressionism, and aestheticism, from which grouping it is but a step to the heroes of impressionism, and naturalism, but this step Mr. Follett does not take, as he is interested in the form and tendencies of the novel, rather than in the heroes who express these tendencies.

Professor Sherman's studies in contemporary literature also emphasize the idea of tendencies or motives in some of the later modern writers of fiction. He thus discusses the Barbaric Naturalism of

¹ Wilson Follett, The Modern Novel, (1918).

Theodore Dreiser; the Humanism of George Meredith, the Utopian Naturalism of H. G. Wells, or the Aesthetic Idealism of Henry James, but it is not his purpose there to discuss what utopianism, naturalism, humanism or idealism have done in creating a new hero.¹

Miss Dorothy Scarborough too in her work on "The Supernatural in Modern English Fiction" (1917), gives an interesting account of many phases of special tendencies in the fiction of the supernatural, but she also is concerned with a theme, rather than with the heroes whose lives the theme develops.

In a study of the Novel of the Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Centuries, Wilhelm Dibelius pays some attention to the questing type of character in his study of the influence of Don Quixote on the works of Fielding and Smollett.² Except in that he finds Tom a mixture of two types, the rake, and the idealistic knight Don Quixote, Dibelius does not, however, elaborate greatly on the development of a quixotic type, and that Tom actually was a member of the quixotic fraternity I do not myself believe. The pursuit of an ideal, a little vague, elusive, and infinitely beautiful was not a characteristic of the quest which Tom pursued.

These examples seem to me typical of the treatment which today it is customary to give to an heroic type, or to the development of a romantic theme or ideal in English fiction. Here and there there is mention of a Byronic hero, or of a perfectibilian, or of the influence of one author on another, but almost never an attempt to follow the growth

¹S. P. Sherman, On Contemporary Literature, (1917).

²Wilhelm Dibelius, Englische Romankunst (1910), I. pp.98-99.

and development through a series of novels of a hero of definite type, such as the hero of quixotism, or of sensibility, or of the romantic quest. The value of a study of this sort must, of course, rest in the event itself, though what is hoped for may again be indicated: to establish the existence of the type, its importance and characteristics, the kinds of quests undertaken, and to point out some of the relations of such a hero as the hero of the romantic quest to the social and spiritual ideals of his time.

CHAPTER ONE

ANTICIPATIONS OF THE ROMANTIC QUEST IN THE HEROES AND IDEALS OF FICTION FROM 1700 TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

- I. ORIENTAL TRANSLATIONS AND IMITATIONS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.
- II. QUIXOTISM IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY FICTION AS A PREPARATION FOR
THE HERO OF THE ROMANTIC QUEST.
- III. SENTIMENTALISM IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY FICTION AS A PREPARATION FOR
THE HERO OF THE ROMANTIC QUEST.

CHAPTER ONE.

ANTICIPATIONS OF THE ROMANTIC QUEST IN THE HEROES AND MOVEMENTS OF FICTION
FROM 1700 TO THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

The historian of fiction or of biography who would seek a hero at his source, to see his greatness ripening, will seldom be so fortunate as Geoffrey of Monmouth or Virgil in deriving a line of kings from Brutus or from the gods, but will more incline I suspect to agree with Rabelais, that "many are now Dukes on the earth whose ancestors were some cooks or pardon-pedlers". The hero of the romantic quest is no exception to this more democratic law of the rise of heroes. Though in the middle ages he may have been a Prince of the Church, or a Knight of the Grail,

Streaming the ensign of the Christian cross
Against black pagans, Turks, and Saracens,

in the modern world of fiction, at least, he has had a humbler role, and until the nineteenth century received little mention in the genealogies of greatness. That there was a new type of hero abroad in the nineteenth century, is easily proven by trying to imagine certain characters of the modern era in an ancient environment. The appearance of St. Francis of Assisi on the New York Stock Exchange would not be more startling than would that of Vathek in a novel of Richardson or Fielding, or that of the Wandering Jew in the couplets of Dryden or Pope. Why with the turn of the century the Tom Joneses, Lovelaces, Sir Charles Grandisons, Pamelas and Clarissas could no longer please, and English fiction sought in a Don Juan, a Vathek, a St. Leon, or an Anna St. Ives for the new wines of romance, can only be explained by a study of social currents of thought and feeling, and of changes in the time spirit. The need of every age to see its own features embodied in some large, general, typical figure, Byron expresses in his cry for a new hero in the opening lines of "Don Juan".

That Byron revealed a new hero in his poems the world knows well, but how it happened that such a hero should be typical of his times, what were his beginnings, and who were his tutors and friends in youth, has not been much discussed. Beckford's "Vathek" (1786), Dr. John Moore's "Zeluco" (1789), and Schedoni in Anne Radcliffe's "The Italian" (1797), are usually given as steps by which Byron rose to his creation of Don Juan, and they in turn by general repute derive from that turtle's back of all Gothicism, "The Castle of Otranto" (1764); but the explanation by regression is of little use unless it includes something more than mere source tagging, and is grounded in the spiritual and intellectual complex of the time. The question then to ask is how Byron, who is his own hero, came to be a Don Juan instead, say, of a Lovelace, and the answer to that question lies in a study of obscure sources, half-dormant social and literary movements, and evolving spiritual aspirations as they gathered and grew in the eighteenth century, and came to a focus in a definite romantic ideal and hero about the time of the French Revolution.

Though it is difficult to account for the appearance and growth of an heroic type, and though it may be somewhat arbitrary as a general thesis to maintain that characters in fiction are but the visible embodiments of the inner spiritual forces of the age which produces them, sometimes it does happen that a new hero in fiction is as symbolical of his generation as in politics a Caesar is of imperialism, or a Lincoln of democracy. Sometimes the hero may be a pattern of things to come and so draw men away from their former ways to imitate him, as Christ drew the middle ages away from worldly desires; or the literary embodiment of the hero may arise just as the ideals he represents are vanishing, and stand merely as a statue reminding us of things that have had their

day, as the beautiful knights and ladies of Chaucer looked out on the dying glory of a departing chivalry. Whether the chronicler of such types appears at the beginning or the end of the reign of a heroic ideal, may then be set down as a matter of literary accident. But that the ideal and the hero derive their source and power from the society in which they grow up, be it at the rise or decline of a spiritual movement, is not, I think, accident, but a law of relationship capable of demonstration. Thus it can be shown, I believe, that the hero of the romantic quest as embodied in the novels from 1786 to 1850, took his rise like romanticism itself from the flowing together of four great streams of influence in the literature and thought of the eighteenth century. These four currents were (1) oriental translations and imitations, (2) mediaevalism, quixotism, and gothicism, (3) sentimentalism and humanitarianism, and (4) deism and naturalism. Let us attempt to trace in this chapter the growth of the chief of these movements in the eighteenth century, especially in fiction, and the preparation they seem to have afforded for the birth of a hero of a new type, the hero of the romantic quest.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATIONS AND IMITATIONS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The orientalism which ran as an undercurrent through the literature of the eighteenth century began its popularity in England in the translation of Galland's "Arabian Nights," (1704-12), and continued in other translations of Turkish, Persian, Chinese, Mogul, Tartarian, and Peruvian tales till well past the middle of the century. As was to be expected, these translations stimulated English authors to write imitations of the oriental tale, refitting it to suit the moral or philosophical bias of the eighteenth century, and adding a motivation which the English reader might enjoy. Addison's "The Vision of Mirzah" (1714), Dr. Johnson's "Rasselas" (1759), and Beckford's "Vathek" (1784) are the most important of these oriental imitations. In her study The Oriental Tale in England (1908), Miss Conant gives an admirable descriptive account of these tales and of their imitations in England in the Eighteenth century, classifying them as imaginative, moral, philosophic, and satiric. To her descriptions of the tales in translation this chapter is indebted. It is not there Miss Conant's purpose, however, to relate the oriental tale to the growth of the romantic movement as it developed at the end of the eighteenth century, nor to discuss the growth of heroic types in the oriental romances. As I believe the oriental tale developed according to a general law of romantic growth, and that the eighteenth century's notions of heroic personality kept pace with this progress, I have here tried to show what that law of progress toward romanticism was, and how it affected the hero of the romantic quest.

Before giving a general account of these translations and imitations, it is well to ask what it was that the eighteenth century authors added to their stories that was omitted in the originals, for it is

largely in just these differences that the growth of romanticism in England, and the foreshadowings of the romantic quest are to be observed. A description of the typical matter in the "Arabian Nights" or the "Persian Tales" as contrasted with the matter in the tales of Addison, Dr. Johnson, and Beckford, will I think bring out this progress of romance, and show not only a development beyond the original oriental tales themselves, but a further important development in the English imitations, so that by 1784 in "Vathek" there are developed romantic elements and aspirations that were hardly dreamed of in the first attempts of Addison.

"The Arabian Nights," first translated into English (1704-12), became popular almost at once. The thousand and one tales are built around the frame-tale of a cruel Sultan who because of his wife's deceptions and venial sins lost faith in women, though he could not resolve to do entirely without them. He compromised the matter by choosing a new wife each day, keeping her one night only, and giving orders to his Vizier at daybreak for her death. None escape, the rich, the wise, the beautiful, and though the Vizier's heart misgives him and the people complain (the abject impotence of "the people" in oriental romance is to me a subject of never ending wonder), he dares not disobey, and so proceeds obediently with the grewsome business. Suddenly, much to the Vizier's consternation, his own daughter, the beautiful Scheherezade announces that she will propose herself as one of the Sultan's wives. Threats, entreaties, and finally even the Sultan's own magnanimous offer to permit her to withdraw are unavailing; and she becomes his wife, with the certain prospect of being beheaded at daybreak of the morning after the wedding. Scheherezade, however, has a plan. She tells the Sultan a story. It is a good story, but unfortunately rather long. It seems impossible to finish it at one sitting. Moreover

it is one of those stories that leave the hearer quite distracted unless he can discover what happened next, and how it turned out. The Sultan foresees certain mental torture if he kills the story teller, and yet he has promised to kill her, and vowed never again to trust a woman. He compromises by permitting her to live forty-eight instead of the usual twenty-four hours, leaving the completion of the story for the second night. But the second night, though the first story is completed, a second is begun and left hanging in limbo. And so the reprieve is continued for a thousand and one nights, at which time the Sultan very wisely deciding that his wife was far too clever to be decapitated, issued her a general reprieve.

It will be noted that there are here two themes: the general one, can Scheherezade keep the Sultan interested enough in her tales to get him to continue to spare her life until it becomes a habit with him; and specifically within the stories, the theme in which we are scarcely less interested than the Sultan, of what happened next, and how did it turn out? Both motives are the usual ones in romances, quest motives. Scheherezade stakes her life on being able to find and relate stories that will fascinate and mollify her Bluebeard (she must have been horribly bored to care for so terrific a bearding of fate), and so is on a never ending quest for a good story. With her situation in mind, like a modern writer for the magazines, she must please her audience or die, and to entertain the half childish, half demonic mind of such a man as the Sultan, her stories were well chosen. In them the unexpected always happens; it is a land of wonder and enchantment, where any cloud may become an enormous genie, white-bearded and terrible, torch in hand, and with a voice of thunder; where the Slave of the Lamp is always ready to perform

his wonders with space and time, erecting enchanted palaces, and going a thousand leagues in no time at all; where serpents may be fairies, and pretty women hags; where Open Sesame! will discover the subterranean treasures of the world; where birds talk, trees sing, and the horrible white roc flies away over the sea with an elephant in its claws. Chance is king. Anything at all may happen, only it must be fantastic, gorgeous, unexpected, wonderful. It is a quest for pure adventure, magic, glamour, dramatic event, and all the ups and downs of fortune.

"The Persian Tales", translated into English in 1714, and called *The Thousand and One Days*, was in the eighteenth century a rival in popularity to the "Arabian Nights." These tales are in many ways similar to the "Arabian Nights", though they have more fantasy, more enchantment, and are far more sentimental. The frame-tale is not so exciting as in the former stories, being merely the story of a nurse whose mistress, a beautiful princess, has lost faith in men. In order to win the reluctant princess over to a reconsideration of the deservings of the other sex, the nurse relates to her a series of tales about passion. On so slight a string she hangs her gaudy love beads. The princes and princesses of these tales are more apt to swoon or be dissolved in floods of tears, or to have violent fits of passion or temper than was the case in the "Arabian Nights." Sentimentality too is here increased, as the object of the stories is to melt the princess' heart. Coloring, violent contrasts, and impossible combinations are also more in evidence. There is for instance a bird with "a blue head, red eyes, yellowwings, and a green body"; an ugly Afrite with "a nose like an elephant trunk, one blood-red eye, the other blue"; a handsome prince who rides on a rose-coloured horse under whose foot-prints flowers spring up in immediate profusion; there are violent effects

in jewelry; there is a magic subterranean library where are hidden "all the secrets of nature"; there are honied descriptions of sea voyages to blessed tropical isles; hideous adventures with the Old Man of the Sea; transigratory curses that outlast nine lives, with a great deal more in infinite variety. Here as in the "Arabian Nights" adventure is the thing, but there is more stress on painting, on fantasy, and on sentimentality in tales of love. In the "Arabian Nights" indeed, little is said of love; only some eight, I believe, of the tales deal with that passion.

It will be recalled that in the consideration of the development of the chansons de geste and the heroic romances in the introduction to this study, ~~that~~ it was pointed out that a general rule of romantic growth from war through love to religion might perhaps with some temerity be laid down as the course which these mediaeval romances took. The earliest chansons de geste dealt with war, with violent adventure, and if with religion at all, with a crude and war-like religion; they were stories of fighting national heroes, of patriots, not of saints. These stories, however, were suddenly displaced by a new romantic school with tales intended to be read in a lady's bower. Chivalric love, the entrance of woman in her romantic guise again, perhaps combined with the influence of the troubadours, and the charm of Celtic magic with its glorification of romantic love, softened the warrior of adventure into the courtier of conduct and morality, the courtier who fought not only for glory, but

In hope to stonden in his lady grace.

And finally, as a last step in the growth of romance, the spiritualizing of the hero was completed in the mystical religious search for the grail, as we find it in the Arthurian legend of Malory.¹

¹W. P. Ker, Metrical Romances, Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. I, chapter XIII.

In considering the themes of chief interest in the translations and imitations of the oriental tale, and the relations which they bear to the romantic quest, it has occurred to me that a comparison of the development made by these tales in three-quarters of a century in England with the progress of the chansons de geste and the heroic romances as they developed over a much greater period, might suggest some general tendency in the rise and growth of the romantic spirit, and perhaps enable us to distinguish what might be the youth of romance from what would perhaps turn out to be its middle years, or its spiritual old age. What then is the status of the oriental translations that came into England in the first half of the eighteenth century? And further, what changes or progress did the English imitators produce in their treatment of the oriental material?

The oriental translations are in general I believe on the level of the chansons de geste in that they deal with adventure, violence, wonder, and magical enchantments for their own sake. It is an interesting criticism of the authors of oriental tales that they were for the most part either unable or unwilling to advance in their stories beyond the pioneer stage of adventure, supernatural encounter, and violence. They dwell in the youth of romance, and seldom moralize their material with a chivalric ideal, or spiritualize it with a mystical insight into the divine realms of being. There is in the original tales a fantastic air of a world disassociated from human probability, and from moral loss and gain, and the philosophical profundity of the Eastern sages seems not to have affected the views of life of the Eastern story teller. Though it is true that the "Persian Tales" treat of love and of the fidelity of lovers, they do so on the level of sentiment and wonder rather than of chivalry and the ideal. What

has been said of the Greek romances may be said of them: "The characters are often beautiful, glamorous, chaste, and faithful, suffering much, but their love is mostly pagan, sensual, sweet, the only virtue being temporary abstinence from desire, with little of reverence for personality or the marriage of true minds."¹ The romantic quest as it appears in these tales is then a quest for adventure, either glamorous and beautiful, or frightful and fascinating; its heroes are lay figures, the sport of fortune or of passion, unmotivated by any great moral or spiritual insight or purpose, the pawns in an oriental puppet-show of lust and blood and fantastic beauty. They portray the life of the lawless imagination, are full of the whirl of unmeaning adventure, and are in these respects typical of the incoherent youth of romance and the inchoate heroes in which it delights.

But the oriental tale as it developed in the eighteenth century is remarkable for its differences from the originals, differences significant of the ideals of the eighteenth century as well as of the progress of a neo-classical age to a profounder imagination, and a more heroic ideal. Addison and Dr. Johnson retain the fantastic imagery, and to some extent the unexpectedness and violence of their originals, but theirs are no idle tales for a vagrant youth. Their tales mark the second stage of the progress of romance, and their universe though outwardly far less splendid, inwardly has a profundity and scope quite unguessed at, and no doubt quite undesired, by the unknown eastern pagans who put the world in their debt for the "Arabian Nights", and the "Persian Tales".

Addison's "Vision of Mirzah", which appeared in number 159 of The Spectator is remarkable for a quality very rare in the oriental tale: it

¹From an unpublished lecture on Greek Romances in a similar connection, by Professor Ernest Bernbaum.

reveals a moral universe. As Mirzah, the hero, goes up a mountain near Bagdat to pray, an angel suddenly appears to him, rends for him the veil that hides the future, and shows him far below, a valley through which roll the tides of eternity. Across this flood a bridge extends, and over the bridge travelling all one way, presses a restless throng, an endless crowd of men, women, and children. As Mirzah watches, noting some who go unconcernedly, some in haste, some sad, some indifferent, a few gay and happy, he notices how suddenly without any warning or commotion, some of the figures disappear. Observing this spectacle more closely, he finds that the bridge which for a time supports mankind is a structure in which there are many trap doors. As he watches, one by one these doors give way, open, and drop the unsuspecting travellers into the flood beneath, and the tides roll the hapless souls away to hell or paradise,- a vision of the latter being vouchsafed before the spectacle vanishes, and Mirzah again finds himself on the mountain side, and sees again far below "the Valley of Bagdat with oxen, sheep, and camels grazing upon the sides of it."

The hero here is conventional, solemn, a little oriental; the theme of the story is the vanity of life and the rewards of virtue; and the quest which the restless eddying throng of humanity suggests, is a search for happiness, success, love, worldly hopes, all of which are doomed to disappointment unless for your virtue the flood sweeps you to paradise. There is no love of adventure for its own sake, but the oriental fantasy is now but the framework for a profounder picture: the quest of man for moral insight, for a spiritual reward for duty performed, for the ultimate moral satisfactions. From a fantastic dream-world, Addison's story evolves at once into an allegory of life, reading a meaning into man's part in the phantasmagoria of sensation and event. But for moral dignity, he feels,

all is vain, empty, idle; with that, life is solemn, fantastic, sad enough, but beyond is hope, and for the virtuous the many are made one.

Dr. Johnson's "Rasselas" (1759), a much longer tale, extends and amplifies the moral and philosophy of Addison's slighter story. It relates how Rasselas, the Prince of Abyssinia, who has been confined in the Happy Valley all the days of his youth, realizes that gratification of desire does not confer lasting happiness. With his sister Nekayah and two companions he escapes therefore into the world only to discover in his quest for happiness that everywhere there is unhappiness. Unable to obtain even his wish to govern a small kingdom beneficently, he resolves to return to Abyssinia, his sister remarking as they go, "the choice of life is become less important. I hope hereafter to think only on the choice of eternity".

There is here much moralizing, much philosophy, and little story. Rasselas and his sister and friends discuss problems of the state, melancholia, the cause of good and evil, the immortality of the soul, and, most frequently, the impossibility of obtaining happiness. Lack of free choice is given as a chief reason for man's discontent. No one is happy: not young men, nor shepherds, nor courtiers, nor hermits, nor sages, nor "those who live according to nature"; old age is lonely and disappointed in its hopes; and even happiness itself when the friend we love dies, may be the cause of the most acute anguish. So that the conclusion is reached that "human life everywhere is a state in which much is to be endured, and little to be enjoyed". In all this frustration and misery the only consolation to be had is in the pursuit of virtue and of knowledge, and in a belief in a future existence which shall make the crooked straight.

This somber tale is a revelation of Dr. Johnson's own ideas and

feelings about life at that time, the story being written to defray the funeral expenses of his mother. Rasselas is thus but an oriental disguise for Dr. Johnson himself. Though we here see life as a quest, it must be confessed that there is here a somewhat drab prospect even for those who follow duty, with few hopes of any very romantic beautitudes or splendours at the end of the pursuit. The result is not much, but it is the best there is. Rasselas, the hero of this moral quest, is the dogged Englishman of the eighteenth century, puzzled by the arguments of the philosophers, on fixed fate, foreknowledge, God, and nature. The imagination is dulled, the spirit weary, yet he holds with tenacity to the rock of moral conduct and faith in some future reward for those who follow duty. Rasselas is a hero of a moral and philosophical quest, but not of a romantic quest. The light that never was on sea or land was denied to the eighteenth century, and it remained for the lurid fires of the French Revolution to reveal man's progress as a thing of romantic splendour. In "Rasselas", however, Dr. Johnson completed the second stage in the development of oriental romance. With this tale the bizarre has been motivated; the beautiful but empty-souled heroes and heroines of the East have acquired moral balance, and philosophical profundity. The gaudy dream-world of youth has been exchanged for the sad human disillusion of a middle-aged spirituality. Conduct is here three-fourths of life, and adventure only frames the picture. One thinks of the eighteenth century oriental tale as the limbo of romanticism, afraid of the glad, terrible, chaotic early world of adventure and passion, and though catching, like Moses, a glimpse of the promised spiritual inheritance beyond, doomed to travel still on the foggy plains of reason, with an honest virtue and moral philosophy as consolation and guide. The inheritor of romance itself who was to combine these two early stages of romanticism.

and to some extent bring into an over-thoughtful literature the joy and vision of a spiritual romantic quest, did not come till the day of romanticism dawned with the French Revolution. With Beckford the hero of the romantic quest is first fully revealed; but as he is a child of the new age rather than of the old, a consideration of "Vathek" is deferred until a later chapter.

PART TWO.

QUIXOTISM IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY FICTION AS A PREPARATION FOR
THE HERO OF THE ROMANTIC QUEST.

Besides the contributions which the oriental tale made toward the growth of the romantic spirit and its final embodiment in a hero of the romantic quest, there was a second stream of influence forming in the eighteenth century as a tributary to romanticism. Of more importance in the history of the novel than orientalism, this rise and growth of the quixotic novel and hero had a wider bearing on the development of the later type hero. More sensitive to the spirit of the age than the oriental tale, the novel of quixotism reveals more of the attitude of the eighteenth century toward romantic interests and desires, and so toward the quixotic and romantic ideals of character and heroism, than was disclosed in a study of the oriental tale and hero.¹ The three stages of growth in the oriental tale, from crude adventure through morality to a spiritual romanticism, reveal a progress that can also be noted in the development of the eighteenth century novels of quixotism. Corresponding to the first crude heroes of chance and glamour in the original oriental

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The study which deals most directly with the eighteenth century novel of quixotism is F. W. Chandler's "The Literature of Roguery", 2 vols., 1907. There, however, Professor Chandler is chiefly interested in the picaresque, or anti-heroic rogue, a character closely allied to the hero of a quixotic strain, but lacking in the higher romantic impulses which animate the true quixote. The historical evolution of the quixotic hero in the eighteenth century novel, therefore, has not been studied, nor has the relation of the growth of this hero to the growth of the romantic hero been developed. The historians of fiction, Raleigh, Cross, and Saintsbury, speak of the influence of "Don Quixote" on the English novel, but they do not attempt to trace the growth of the quixotic hero, or his relation to his own age or to succeeding ideals and heroes.

tales, is the anti-hero or picaro of the early stories of roguery, an immoral, or even more accurately, unmoral, unidealised character, whose chief quest is for adventure, worldly rewards, and the excitements of chance. During the century the novel then grows somewhat away from this exclusive interest in the rogue, to what corresponds to the second stage in the development of orientalism, an interest in quixotism and in the quixotic hero. Though these quixotic heroes are somewhat idealised, and motivated morally, as, say, Passelas was in the oriental tale, they too do not attain to the romantic glow of idealism to be seen in the really spiritual quest of Cervantes' original hero, or in the romantic quest of the nineteenth century heroes of which they are forerunners. In the changing attitude of the eighteenth century toward the picaresque and quixotic heroes of fiction, however, and in the gradual growth of the picaro and the quixotic hero through morality toward romanticism, is to be traced one of the influences which brought about the rise of the hero of the romantic quest in English fiction. Such a growth and change it is the purpose of this chapter to develop.

Before the eighteenth century, English fiction, aside from translations of such works as "Don Quixote" and "Lazarillo de Tormes", had treated picaresque or roguish anti-heroes chiefly in the Elizabethan Jest Books, in the rogue pamphlets of Greene, and in Nash's novel "Jack Wilton" (1594). These picaresque anti-heroes, though questing adventurers, were seldom quixotic, and depended for their interest on their roguish tricks, satirical wit, or startling adventures. The triumph of knavery was made palatable by the high spirits and vigor of the rogue, and often by the small deservings or stupidity of the persons robbed or cheated. To be sure, Greene wrote his rogue pamphlets ostensibly to discourage roguery

by warning the innocent against their tricks, but his moral is purely objective, and never touches at all the soul of the picaresque himself. Here the rogues are merely typical rogues, given as such, and taken for granted. Adventures cluster about them; they are the center of the stage of action controlled by the author; and in that the adventures are told for their own sake, and the rogues are hard-natured, simple, born rogues, unmotivated morally or spiritually, these picaresque fictions correspond in general to the crude early stage of romance such as that found in the chansons de geste, "The Arabian Nights", or the "Persian Tales". Fortune, or the author, as a *deus ex machina*, is in control, and the quest of his puppet-like picares is for adventure itself and the triumph of roguery.

The first stage, in which the mere rogue of adventure ruled, soon gave way, however, to a stage in which a rogue whose nature was more amenable to morality and immorality held sway. The cynical enjoyment of the Elizabethans in such knavish tricks as those in the Jest Books, or in such knaves as Jack Wilton or Ned Browne, was displaced by a new interest in the novels of Defoe, and in some of the fictitious criminal biographies that preceded him.¹ In Defoe's "Moll Flanders" (1722), there is a conspicuous instance of an author turning from an elaborate description of the rogue's tricks, adventures, and witty knavery, to a study of the heroine's moral degradation and its effect on her character. Why, Defoe asks, did Moll become an immoral woman? What urge drove her on such a quest? Thus in her story, crude adventure is replaced by moral adventure, and the rogue acquires a more human and psychological motivation. Like such later authors of criminal stories as Lytton and Thomas

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For the rise and development of the criminal biography and its relation to the beginnings of English fiction, cf. Ernest Bernbaum, The Mary Carleton Narratives (1914).

Hardy, Defoe finds in an evil environment the cause of the wickedness of his heroine. Unlike his successors, however, Defoe did not treat the demonic urge to crime romantically, but realistically. The evil urge of environment is not, as in Hardy, personified, nor does Moll steal or lie, like Godwin's or Lytton's criminals, for the sake of human society. Moll is a thief and a courtesan because of an environment that offered her greater temptations and demanded of her greater sacrifices than she could endure. She steals because she can't help it; she is a courtesan because she was too greatly tempted, yielded, and was deceived. And as the cause of her wickedness is not treated romantically, so too with her reactions. Her progress is from remorse to moral hardness and cynicism; then, when she is caught, to a fear of punishment; and finally, when she is freed, to complete remorse, repentance, and reformation. In moral struggle, in a sympathy for the heroine who is caught in the toils of an evil environment, and in the sense that men are the puppets of an inner weakness and a chance temptation, Defoe advances the rogue of adventure to the second stage of development, to the stage where there is a moral universe. Such a study of roguery as "Moll Flanders" is not romantic, but it prepares the way for anti-heroes who were to be more than victims of a realistic moral struggle, for rogues become quixotic; no longer victims of society, but virtuous outlaws, or Promethean hero-villains. Beyond the stage of morality, however, the treatment of the rogue before Fielding did not extend. From Fielding on, however, it is in the novel of quixotism that much of the development of picaresque or roguish heroes is to be sought. Though Fielding satirised in "Jonathan Wild" (1743), the praise of criminals which Defoe's sympathetic treatment had made popular,¹ it is in his novels that the picaresque

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Cf. F. W. Chandler, The Literature of Roguery (1907), V. II. p. 302.

first unites in English fiction with the quixotic. From 1740 to 1770 there is then a varying treatment of picaresque and quixotic heroes, and a gradual growth from heroes of mere adventure and tales of adventures with a moral bias, to a more romantic motivation of plot and hero. It is in this progress from the picaresque to the moral and quixotic, and from the quixotic to the romantic that the growth in the eighteenth century novels of quixotism toward a hero of the romantic quest is revealed.

The first English novel to display for the delight of its readers a hero on a quixotic quest was Fielding's "Joseph Andrews" (1742). Written as a parody of the complacent virtue of Richardson's "Pamela" (1740), Fielding's novel soon breaks away from burlesque, and portrays as the real hero not Joseph, but Parson Adams, a "learned dreamer" as ~~a~~ roughly buffeted about as Don Quixote himself, as tenacious of his own brand of muscular Christianity as ever knight was of honor, and as impervious to Fortune's worst blows as the most quixotic pursuit of virtue and Christian vigor might require. Though outfitted like a robust squire, and physically as burly as Sancho Panza, Parson Adams has at heart a knight's nobility and dream of honor. Joseph, on the other hand, who looks the knight's part, has in his being just a dash of Sancho's humility and servility, which quite as much as his quixotic chastity, made him unfit for the role of hero. With physical courage enough to be a hero, Joseph is damned by his lack of imagination, his smugness, and his tendency, so often found in perfect disciples, to mistake the letter of the law for the spirit.

"Joseph Andrews", then, is something more than a novel of adventures. It is a novel in which its two leading characters are motivated not only by moral ideals, but by moral ideals so strongly held as to appear quixotic, that is, a little odd, dream-like, and unreal. Certainly neither the Parson nor

Joseph are very romantic characters, but in their touches of oddity and in the whimsical aberrations of their quests, there is an eccentric tendency away from reality, and common sense that is somewhat romantic. Only a belief in the absolute, a belief that tends to incapacitate one for the relative, could drive the Parson to endure for his religion and Joseph for his virtue, the ills which they endured. Picaresque in adventure, and moral in its treatment of character, "Joseph Andrews" adds to the hero of moral adventure a dash of the quixotic. It is in the addition which Fielding thus brought into English fiction, that one of the germinating forces for later heroes of romance is to be found. An account of the growth of this quixotism, its popularity, and the attitude of differing decades and authors towards it, is necessary to an understanding of its contribution to romance, and to the hero of the romantic quest.

What then is Fielding's attitude toward quixotism, toward Parson Adams' idealistic disregard of the windmills of reality? Is he at heart with the Parson or with the domestic Mrs. Adams in her appeal to her husband to trim a little to the winds of expediency and thus assist his ragged family of six? It would be foolish to assert any very serious purpose or bias of Fielding either for quixotism or for domesticity. He hates meanness, and he loves a good heart; smugness, cant, and complacent virtue he dislikes; but in general the world is but grist for his mill, satire is his theme, and if from the clash of the Parson's idealism with an empty purse, or from the incongruity of a virtuous Joseph trapped in the embraces of a too impetuous Lady Booby, he can secure a hearty laugh, his purpose is accomplished. Yet in general an honest heart, a stout fist, a somewhat quixotic disregard of hard facts, and a teeming imagination are the things which Fielding admires. It is a robust world of men, not nice but hearty, not perfect but honest, not

safe but incomplete, ragged, pressing on the heels of convention a little nearly that Parson Adams typifies. The Parson's hatred of Methodism because of its "justification by faith" which gives too much sanction to a wicked deed, and Joseph's overly sweet praise of humanitarianism,¹ show perhaps merely a distaste for mollycoddling which an age of common sense and a dislike for the more tenuous abstractions of religion or humanity would be expected to exhibit. Quixotism itself, except as a source of humour, Fielding seems to have cared little for, but with an honest heart and a strong hand, a dash of the quixotic for seasoning was quite to his liking.

The taste for the picaresque which developed along with, and eventually became a part of quixotism itself, is further shown in Smollett's "Roderick Random" (1748), in his translation of "Gil Blas" (1749), in Fielding's "Tom Jones" of the same year, and in Smollett's "Peregrine Pickle" (1751). Of "Tom Jones" perhaps enough has been said in the introduction of the reason for doubting the existence of the quixotic elements which Dibelius finds in Tom's character. Picaresque elements there are, the love of adventure and of life's gayer and grosser pleasures, but the touches of oddity and of an abstract idealism which are necessary to quixotism seem to me lacking in Tom. Professor Chandler makes a more exact remark about him when he says "Jones contrasts with the romantic hero by being more human, and with the picaresque by being more humane".² In the character of Partridge in "Tom Jones", there are however many of the quixotic traits of Parson Adams. Smollett's heroes, Roderick and Peregrine, unlike Partridge, are not quixotic, but are merely roaring rogues whom Smollett seems to admire for their high spirits, crude adventures, and somewhat unbelievably ruthless im-

¹ Cf. Henry Fielding, Joseph Andrews, bk.1. chap. 17, bk. 3. chap. 6.

²

F. W. Chandler, The Literature of Roguery, V. II. p. 307.

morality. Neither is carefully characterised or motivated; they excite small sympathy in their meanness; and are in general merely powerful rogue heroes of the adventurous, immoral order rigged up in eighteenth century dress. Perhaps shocked at his own condonement of their immorality, Smollett then published his "Ferdinand, Count Fathom" (1753), a work similar to Fielding's "Jonathan Wild", published ten years earlier, to show that "Roderick Random" and "Peregrine Pickle" were both wrong, morally, that no real rogue can be happy, and that the quest for picaresque adventure must be a sorry one and end in misery. The result in this picaresque morality-hero, was a monster of vice whom even Smollett himself hated, but his portrayal has some importance for us as showing Smollett's real disapproval of romantic outlawry, unconventional adventure, crime, and picturesque roguery. No great ideal either quixotic, spiritual, or romantic, gives any aflatus to the picaroes of these stories, and they deserve only passing notice as filling in the picture of picaresque fiction and its relations to the moral code, as it was growing up in the beginning of the third quarter of the century, and its general disregard of the romantically eccentric rogue, or the questing quixotic hero. Before the year 1750, then, English fiction had portrayed quixotic heroes in some of the characters in Fielding's novels; and had developed picaresque heroes into rogues of roaring adventure in the novels of Smollett. Though Smollett's heroes inhabit a world where morals are matters of some consideration, they lack, so far, any idealism of a quixotic or romantic sort, and not until his translation of "Don Quixote" (1755), does Smollett turn to the quixotic hero.

Besides Smollett's popular translation of "Don Quixote", one other tale in the sixth decade deserves emphasis in a study of the growth and popularity of stories of quixotism in the eighteenth century. Mrs. Lermox' "The Female Quixote, or the Adventures of Arabella" (1752), written to celebrate common

sense at the expense of the romantic eccentricities of its flighty heroine, had the honour of being praised by Fielding, and favorably reviewed in *The Gentleman's Magazine* by Dr. Johnson. It is the story of a girl whose mother is dead, and whose father is immersed in his books. Living in the country Arabella has little to do but read the romances of Mademoiselle Scuderi, and like Don Quixote she has her head turned by this reading. Her father dying, she inherits a fortune, and is thus enabled to indulge her romantic bent. Her quixotic flights consist of such aberrations as thinking a gardener a prince in disguise, and of being horribly shocked to find that this supposed lover has been dismissed for stealing carp. She rejects a fine young fellow, her true lover, for his deficiency in the code of gallantry of her favorite authors. This code she herself follows to such extremes as requesting in an assembly of guests one of the maids of a lady who is present to regale them with the secret "adventures" of her mistress; demanding of her lovers that they "drink up eisel eat a crocodile" on her behalf; and plunging into the Thames to escape what she mistakenly believes is a conspiracy against her virtue. The moralizing of a clergyman eventually brings her to her senses.

Arabella is thus an example of the female quixote, flighty, eccentric, unable to distinguish between common sense and the most palpable error. She is therefore not a thoroughly credible person, though the oddity of her flights of speech and her silly commands to her lovers are excellent satire. The contrast between her wildish fancies and the common sense atmosphere about her shows the author's leanings, and the general opinion of the times as to such "females". In fact, opinion was so adverse that Arabella's quixotism is scarcely credible, being but a remote imitation of the realities of Cervantes' imaginings.

In Smollett's "Launcelot Greaves" (1762), there is another imitation of Cervantes, and here we have for the first time something more than

Fielding's tolerance for quixotism, and a somewhat sympathetic effort to make quixotism real and admirable. Launcelot, who like Romeo loves the daughter of his hereditary enemy, is by a false letter separated from his desired lady, who has, he thinks, played him false. As a result of this disappointment in love he then turns to a life of benevolence, and having read many of the romances of chivalry, decides to revive the practice of knight-errantry, and take to the road in pursuit of wrongs that require redress. "In the thorny and painful path of knight-errantry", he says, "I have begun my career, a candidate for honest fame; determined so far as in me lies, to honor and assert the efforts of virtue; to combat vice in all her forms, redress injuries, chastise oppression, protect the helpless and forlorn, relieve the indigent, exert my best endeavours in the cause of innocence and beauty, and dedicate my talents, such as they are to the service of my country." A squire, Crabshaw, accompanies him in quest of adventure. Summarizing briefly, Launcelot's adventures consist of the following. He rescues the coach of his beloved lady Aurelia from a band of robbers, though he does not discover that the coach is hers, and misses seeing her by going off in pursuit of the bandits. He interferes in an election of Members of Parliament, and makes a speech in a small country town concerning the two rival candidates who are present. He avers that both are frauds and cheats, which so angers both factions that they join hands and expel him from the town. Finding a quack who is arrested for selling goods on the street without a license, Launcelot, pitying him, decides to defend him in the law courts. On arriving at the jail he is horrified to find two of his friends, a Captain Crowe and his "squire", the Attorney Tom Clarke, both in jail. They have been arrested for their attempts to imitate Launcelot and Crabshaw in deeds of knight-errantry. As Launcelot now devotes his attention to his two friends and their plight, he is astonished to find that the quack, angry at

being deserted, has launched false charges against him, and so Launcelot is himself arrested along with the others. Launcelot thus gets an intimate view of what prison life is like. He is acquitted as innocent, finally, and the quack and the false magistrate in whose court they are tried are proven to be corrupt. Armed with innocency, and with this "exposure" as an entering wedge, Launcelot compels a reopening of the cases of the other prisoners in the jail. Many are found innocent, and are therefore dismissed. The unjust judge is made to pay a handsome sum of money to the poor whom he has oppressed, and forced by Launcelot to resign his judgeship. Finding Aurelia's purse on the road, Launcelot pursues her in order to return it. He arrives at her inn, but owing to a stratagem of her father, who is of course trying to keep Aurelia away from Launcelot, she is spirited away to London, and nothing is left but for Launcelot to pursue her with the lost purse. There for a time he is unsuccessful. Finally, however, in a mysterious way he gets word to go to a designated place if he wishes to be where Aurelia is. He decides to go, steps into a waiting coach, and is whirled away in a quite Richardsonian manner to an insane asylum where, as it turns out, Aurelia is also detained. Here Launcelot's friends finally find him, and as a result of legal measures both are freed. Marriage soon follows liberty, and domesticity and common sense supplant the quixotic practice of knight-errantry.

It is noticeable that though love is a chief motive force and underlies all the story, the humanitarian schemes are emphasized here far more than in either Cervantes' novel, or in the imitations previously written in England. This young idealistic Englishman, a bit "off" because of a disappointment in love, takes to the road in the service of mankind. To do good to society, and to uplift the fallen is his quest. He is a quixotic humanitarian, finally restored to sanity by a domestic attachment. Love, Launcelot says, is the

essence, and good deeds are the attributes of chivalry. In sober fact, however, Launcelot is not a very romantic hero, because Smollett was unable to fuse the ingredients of his character into an imaginative type, to associate him with the gleam of a divine or gloriously desirable pursuit, and because there is not in his character enough of the breath of life to make him romantically credible. He lacks too that philosophical revolutionism which sent Schiller's Robbers over thirty years later to robbing the rich in the name of democracy. Such a character as Launcelot, however, is not only quixotic, but in the motivation of his quixotism Smollett reveals a greater tolerance of the eccentric hero and the flighty deed, than could be found ten years earlier in "The Adventures of Arabella". It is to be noted here also that roguery, for Launcelot's deeds resemble the acts of adventurous rogues, has acquired a social purpose. In "Launcelot Greaves", we thus find quixotic and picaresque elements in combination. In both there is a different motivation from the merely adventurous or moral quest of the earlier heroes. Launcelot and his friends are humanitarian rogues and quixotes, and their quest is for justice in law and the uplift of the poor.

This new attitude toward roguery and quixotism which Smollett seems to anticipate, was I believe assisted by the rise of a new temper in English life, a spirit which placed more emphasis on goodness of heart and excess of sensibility, than on the conventional moral code or on any intellectual test of character. For example, Goldsmith's gentle Vicar in the "Vicar of Wakefield" (1766), while showing no great indignation at the rogues at the fair, has a tolerant smile for the gullibility of Moses; and the improvidence of the Vicar, far from being a matter for reproof, is taken as only the quixotic sign of his goodness of heart. It endears him to us indeed, and is not as in "Launcelot Greaves", the sign of an aberration due to love. To this mild quixotic sentimentality, Sterne in "Tristram Shandy" (1759-67) and

in "A Sentimental Journey" (1768), added the spice of Shandyism, a name which in itself takes its place in the language as denoting a quixotic pursuit of whim, of hair-brained imaginary battles and adventures, and of highly alluring amorous encounters and excitements. My Uncle Toby, the Don Quixote of the piece, and Corporal Trim, his squire, are both sham quixotes; their adventures are only on hobby-horses, refighting the siege of Namur, retelling the story of Uncle Toby's wound, reducing everything to a question of imaginary earthworks and fighting out the battles in miniature among the parlour chairs. It is, indeed, just this quixotic futility of My Uncle Toby which so endeared him to his generation. The quixotic hero in Sterne is no longer an humanitarian like Launcelot Greaves, but a quixote turned sentimentalist. This amalgamation of sentimentality and quixotism which could change a knight-errant into a quixotic humanitarian or could change an English clergyman into a quixotic Shandean philanderer, though widely popular, was shortly to be attacked. Though fighting for its life, common sense still ruled the England of the seventh decade. This tendency to avoid the eccentric, the strange, the sentimental, the overly emotional is revealed in a satirical novel of the next decade.

In "The Spiritual Quixote" (1772), the Reverend Richard Graves (1715-1804), noted as the jolliest rector at Bath, and an old Oxford classmate of the evangelist Whit²field, attacked what he deemed a quixotic sentimentality in Methodism. His novel ran through four editions in three years, and for fifty years remained popular as an English classic. As "The Spiritual Quixote" purports to be not only a novel, but a somewhat polemical picture of a new hero of the times, and as it reveals the quixotic elements in humanitarianism and in Methodism and their interrelations, it is convenient as a summary and a conclusion of the growth of the heroes of picaresque and

quixotic adventure during the third quarter of the eighteenth century.

Graves, to be sure, is but blowing against the wind. The forces he hates were the expansive, and as it happened, the vital forces of the time, and the last quarter of the century saw their triumph. His own hero, Mr. Geoffrey Wildgoose, who was under the author's control, might be made at the end of his wild goose chase to return a sadder but a wiser man to the domestic centrality of his own garden, but the typical hero of the time to come was to be outward bound, no longer a mere quixote, but an enthusiastic voyager in strange romantic seas, and quite insensible to the checks of common-sense scoffers like the Reverend Richard Graves.

The Spiritual Quixote, Mr. Geoffrey Wildgoose, is a young man just out of Oxford, living with his mother in the country on five hundred pounds a year, attending church, loafing, reading, and improving his mind by debates with a local clergyman of the Church of England. Coming out badly in one of these theological encounters, Wildgoose becomes estranged from the English Church, and embraces Methodism. Growing zealous by his reading of Wesley and Whitfield he decides, like the ancient Quixote, to imitate his master's romantic careers, and to set forth in quest of salvation. Like them, too, he becomes an itinerant evangelist, taking as his Sancho Panza to do his menial labor and be his companion, Jeremiah Tugwell, a cobbler. Jerry, like the picaresque type he represents, is not much concerned with the higher spiritual quest of his master, but keeps his eyes open for a good dinner, an amorous adventure, or a fight. He is easily discouraged, and causes Wildgoose a good deal of trouble by constantly desiring to return to his wife whom he left without warning on the promise of wages from Wildgoose. The wages are slow in arriving.

The quest of two such Methodists as these for salvation, and then for converts, was bound to be one of a variety of adventures. The acquisitive

qualities which such workers as Jerry had made the Methodists famous for, are clearly revealed in the speech of an inn keeper's wife whom they meet early in their travels. She has overheard one of them speak of Whitfield.

"Mr. Whitfield", quoth she: 'I'll be hanged then', says Mrs. Tantrum, 'if it is not one of these Methodists that go about the country. Run and take away the silver spoon and pepper box! A pack of canting toads! I thought he looked like one of those hypothetical rascals. There was one of them at Salisbury, not long ago, married two wives; and another was hanged for sheep-stealing. Run, I say, and take away the pepper box.'"¹ Besides satirising their eye for the main chance, and their domestic infidelity, Graves satirises their cant terms. "Ah, sir", he quotes a servant girl as saying, "we have such soul-searching teachers! such ravishing ministers! they come so close to the point; and does so grapple with the sinner! they probe his sores to the very quick; and pour in such comfortable balsam! and, as Mr. Twangdillo told us last night, though it may pain, yet, like physic in the bowels, it pains us to some purpose." The low spiritual tone of the Methodistical quest is further emphasised by Wildgoose's experiences at Bath, where he goes to win converts. There he is for a time quite a fashionable attraction, but as the husbands of Bath become jealous of his influence over their wives, Wildgoose is kidnapped and sent away on a vessel to Wales. As he finds that he knows the captain of the ship, he is set down without harm, except to his pride.

Not only is the quest of Wildgoose satirised as hypocritical, and without inspiration, but the pursuits of his teachers and converts are little better. Whitfield himself, Graves represents as a man rather unkempt, fond of his dinner, conceited, a quack, and with the professional evangelist's cant, but none of the early Christian pilgrim's inspiration. With such a

¹

Richard Graves, The Spiritual Quixote, bk. 4, chap. VIII.

source, the stream is apt not to be very pure. Wildgoose's converts are instructive in showing how little Graves thought of quixotic Methodist zeal. Wildgoose first attempts to enlist in the service of his divine pursuit an humanitarian knight-errant whom he meets on the road. This knight is a muscular person whose search is for farmers and drivers who are cruel to their animals. When he finds any such, he gives them some of their own treatment. Such an art devoted to Methodism, Wildgoose thinks, will win many converts to the Lord. The strong-armed knight, however, balks at "justification by faith," preferring the deed to the word, and leaves him.

The aberrations of all classes who embrace this quixotic quest for salvation by faith, Graves exposes in a panorama of satiric adventures, some of which mingle quixotic Methodism with more than a touch of Smollett's coarseness. A girl of fourteen who has been betrayed by a sailor, and a woman who keeps a house of ill fame are quick to embrace Methodism on the principle "the greater the sin, the greater the saint". Not only the poor and sinful, but the fashionable and bored ladies of the great world are ready to seize on the new quest as affording them emotional stimulus. Lady Sherwood is one of the most amusing of these dilettante questers.

"Lady Sherwood was of an ancient and noble family, and wife to a peer of the realm. She was a woman of fine understanding, though her judgment appeared sometimes almost eclipsed by the brilliancy of her imagination. Her ladyship was now past her bloom; yet in her youth she had been tolerably handsome, and made a splendid appearance in the great world. But her lord, either from some disgust, or from a fondness for retirement, having early in life withdrawn from the court, Lady Sherwood had entirely conformed to his humour; and, to amuse herself in her solitary situation, she had formerly indulged the suggestions of her fancy, and turned my lord's park into a poetical Arcadia; where her ladyship and a female companion or two lived almost the whole summer a mere pastoral life, and ranged about, with their crooks in their hands, like so many Grecian shepherdesses. Garlands of flowers, or baskets of fruit, were seen suspended on every beautiful oak, with rustic pipes, rakes, pitchforks, and other rural implements, disposed in a picturesque manner, in different parts of the park. Nay, the poor chaplain was forced to leave his bottle and his pipe, and backgammon table, with my lord, and even neglect his pastoral function, assigned him by the

bishop, to attend her ladyship and her bleating lambkins; and to sit whole afternoons under a spreading tree, to entertain them with his flute. For the steward had actually bought her ladyship a score of sheep at Banbury fair (according to Justice Shallow's expression) for this romantic purpose.

"The inclemency of the weather, however, in this northern climate was by no means favorable to these lovely Boetians. Neither did many of the pastoral functions suit with the delicacy of a modern woman of quality. For her ladyship frequently caught the tooth-ache, and was forced to have recourse to a neighboring apothecary (a character seldom introduced in the ancient bucolics); and one of her companions met with a terrible accident in the discharge of her office; for having seized the leg of a large bell-wether with her crook, which was fastened to her wrist by a blue ribband, the rude unclassical brute struggled with such force to disengage himself, that he pulled down the poor Pastora, dragged her some yards, and disfigured her face to such a degree, that she could not appear again for six weeks; and this put an end to this extravagant scene in pastoral life.

"Lady Sherwood was now grown tired of the country. But, as she could not decently go to town against her lord's inclination, considering the complaisant terms upon which they lived together, the physician, therefore, had a hint given him, to order her ladyship to Bath for her health. Not finding that relish, however, in public places which she had formerly done, when every passion was agreeably flattered by her appearance in them, she grew sick of the world, and began to see in a true light, the emptiness and unsatisfactory nature of all secular enjoyments.

"In such a situation it is evident, that nothing but religion could yield any solid conversation. But, as the plain rational scheme of the established religion, which prescribes nothing more than our duty to God, our neighbor, and ourselves, under the sanction of future rewards and punishments, could not satisfy the uncommon genius, and lively fancy of Lady Sherwood, she listened with the same attention to the enthusiastic doctrines of these itinerant preachers, as a person labouring under a hypochondriacal distemper does to the extravagant pretensions of a mountebank; and was glad of this opportunity of conversing with so agreeable an enthusiast as Mrs. Bardolph had represented Wildgoose to be."¹

It need hardly be added that Lady Sherwood did not find Methodism and the quixotic enthusiasms of Wildgoose any more permanently satisfying to her insatiable longing for a more perfect world than the pastoral life had been.

¹

Ibid. bk. 5, chap. XVII.

Though willing to be the dupe of fashionable ladies, Wildgoose has only a spirit of intolerance for those who live in a world of art and poetry without Methodism. This is shown by a visit to one of his old friends. The pious Wildgoose now fully equipped as a travelling evangelist, during one of his trips, visits his old friend the poet Shenstone at Leasowes, sometimes called Shenstone's folly, from the fact that the poet spent more in beautifying it than he could afford, and so had something of a white elephant on his hands. They talk of college things for a time, and each tries then to point out to the other the folly of his way of living. Shenstone has just built some new fountains, and set up some new statues, preparatory to receiving some guests of note who are to visit him the next day. In the middle of the night, Wildgoose and Jerry get up, leave a note, and as they depart, open the sluices of the lake, drain the fountains, and overturn "the statuary idols". The poet thinks it amusing, and does nothing about it.

"My good friend", reads the note which Wildgoose leaves, "I am called hence by the Spirit: in the visions of the night it was revealed to me. I must own, that, like the good Publius, you have received and lodged us courteously, and my bowels yearn for your salvation. But, my dear friend, I am afraid you have set up idols in your heart. You seem to pay a greater regard to Pan and Sylvanus, than to Paul or Silas. You have forsaken the fountains of the living Lord, and hewn you out cisterns, broken cisterns, that will hold no water: but my conscience beareth testimony against this idolatry. Bel boweth down, Nebo stocepeth. I have delivered my soul, and will pray for your conversion. I am

Your brother in the Lord,
Geoffrey Wildgoose.¹

The conclusion of Wildgoose's evangelical pilgrimage is domestic. He falls in love with a girl of common-sense tastes, returns to his mother and his inheritance, marries, pays off Tugwell, and settles down to the gentlemanly unambitious life which Graves recommends. Quixotic wanderings, and Methodistical quests for salvation by faith, and converts, he abandons, and

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Ibid. bk. 9, chap. VIII.

comes to dislike as heartily as Graves does, all such upsetters of the established order as are comprised under the name of quixotism.

Here then we see the last of the eighteenth century novel of quixotism to present common sense as an adequate rule of conduct. The satire which Graves heaps upon humanitarians as rough-handed busybodies; on Methodists as vagabonds and spiritual quacks whose chief impelling motive is a temperamental quixotism, and whose real characters are selfish, hypocritical, and lacking in humour; his satire of the Methodist's disciples as low immoral characters who are either parasitic or flighty, or as dilettante ladies in search of emotional excitement; and his contempt for a Wildgoose whose egotism rejects art, family, conventional sense, and the love of woman for a quixotic quest for salvation by faith, -- in all these there is a tone of asperity which is highly significant. The Reverend Richard Graves at the age of fifty-seven is sensible of the signs of the times; he sees something of the coming storms, and he throws out a novel as the best means of checking that which he dislikes and fears. Anything quixotic offends him, and about him he sees a markedly quixotic tendency. That he was unjust to Methodism, itself as it later proved one of the strong conservative forces of the world, and that some others of his fears were chimerical, does not I think injure him as a witness to the evolving temper of his age. Biased as he was against the eccentric tendency then coming into vogue, the romantic literature that follows shows plainly the development of the tendencies which he deplored. In the next quarter of a century of storm and stress there are, to be sure, few quixotic heroes as such, but the reason is not far to seek. That which was odd in 1770 has become popular by 1790, and its oddity, its quixotism, is therefore no longer evident. For quixotism is only possible on a background of common sense. The quixotic hero, therefore, must be portrayed as a bit "off", a hero perhaps to himself, or in his own aims, but to his generation an oddity, an

extravagant fellow, pursuing dreams, wild adventures, and fantastic exploits. As I shall attempt to show later, the temper of the new age was not so disdainful of the questing dreamer as in general the preceding authors have been. Consequently, when they portray such a dreamer, they emphasize not the oddity, or lack of common sense of the romantic hero, but the splendour of his quest, the folly of a stupid conventionality that opposes him, and the virtue of becoming an outlaw, a Wandering Jew, or a political exile for the sake of regenerating a disdainful mankind. What was anti-heroic has tended to become heroic, and we thus see the despised quixote gradually become metamorphosed into a kind of Napoleonic or Promethean superman, a hero of a new and a romantic quest.

In the light of these novels then, from the lust for adventure and picaresque exploits of Fielding and Smollett, from the humanitarian aberrations of a Sir Launcelot Greaves, and the quixotic Shandyism of Sterne's sentimentality, and last from the very real fears of quixotism and Methodism shown in "The Spiritual Quixote", it is evident that the satiric picaresque romance and the satires on quixotism lost their vogue and ceased to be published because the age no longer cared to see these anti-heroes made sport of. Traits formerly odious because unconventional, or irreligious, or enthusiastic, or sentimental, or quixotic, now because of a change in the time spirit, became heroic. The villain, at first merely a crude unmotivated villain and sneered at as such, by an analysis of environment, and by a sympathetic treatment of his character gradually became a different sort of rebel, no longer an anti-hero at war with society for ambition, love, avarice, or hate, but a rebel consumed with an overmastering passion, warring on the church or the state, and on society for the good of humanity. In the novels of Holcroft and Godwin, of Lucas, and Walker, and Peacock, and in the Byronic misanthropes of some of the Gothic Romances, the results of the growth of quixotic eccentricity will be, in the chapters to come, more fully discussed.

PART THREE.

SENTIMENTALISM IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY NOVEL AS A PREPARATION FOR
THE HERO OF THE ROMANTIC QUEST.

Besides the currents of orientalism and quixotism running through the eighteenth century, with their emphasis on a quest for eccentric adventures and ideals, or for a happiness not to be found in convention or the commonplace domesticities, there was a stream of influence still more important as a forerunner of romanticism than either these oriental or quixotic tendencies. This movement, which we have already seen taking its rise in Defoe's sympathetic interest in the criminal heroine, and in the general tendency to make something of a hero of the rogue, shown in such pamphlets as Captain Johnson's "Lives of Highwaymen" (1734),¹ received its first triumphant expression in the novels of Samuel Richardson. With him sentimentalism as a modern literary world force takes its rise. The rise and growth of sentimentalism in the novel has not as yet been adequately studied by historians or critics of fiction. Raleigh, Cross, and Saintsbury give admirable descriptive accounts of Richardson's novels, with some hints of such preceding novels of sentiment as Mme. de La Fayette's "The Princess of Cleves" (1678) and Marivaux's "The Life of Marianne" (1731), but they do not find in Richardson's reading nor in the philosophic and social temper of the time any general spirit or temper which is an adequate background for Richardson's sentimentalism. It is true that the historians of fiction find in Richardson's biography plenty of evidence for the sentimentality of his character, and from this they derive his novels. As a complete account, such a method is inadequate, for there remains the question as to what were the forces in

¹
Cf. F. W. Chandler, The Literature of Roguery (1907), V. I. pp. 177-179; V. II. p. 303 N.

Richardson's social life, reading, and in the environment of the age which developed in him the bias of sentimentality. A brief account of the forces which moulded Richardson's sentimentality is, however, given by Professor Bernbaum in his "Drama of Sensibility". He there says that Richardson's "great edifices were built after the smaller models of the sentimental tale. Pamela was said by Richardson to be based on a true incident; but it is nevertheless a story analogous to Steele's tale of Amanda, and Lillo's comedy Silvia; and, what is more important, it is recounted in the same spirit." Charles Johnson's "Caelia" Professor Bernbaum finds anticipates "Clarissa Harlowe", and "in the choice of his subjects, the nature of his moral appeal, the method of conducting his plots, and the conception of his characters, Richardson was carrying forward the movement that the dramatists of sensibility had begun."¹

Though the origin and growth of this spirit as it affected the drama and poetry of the eighteenth century has been admirably treated by Professor Bernbaum,² he has for the most part referred to the novel only as an influence on the drama and poetry of the period. Inasmuch as the growth of sentimentalism in the novel was largely responsible for the changing ideals in the eighteenth century, and so for the coming of the new type of hero, the hero of the romantic quest, in the last decade of the century, a somewhat extended discussion of the movement and of the chief novels which illustrate it is necessary to an understanding of the evolution of the romantic hero. What effect sentimentality had on the psychology of the eighteenth century hero, and how that influence was important as a preparation for the hero of the romantic quest it is the purpose of this chapter to make clear. In so far

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Ernest Bernbaum, The Drama of Sensibility (1915), p. 165.

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Cf. Ernest Bernbaum, The Drama of Sensibility (1915); also his introduction to his anthology of English Poets of the Eighteenth Century (1912).

as possible the discussion will confine itself to a consideration of sentimentalism as it affected the ideals of character in the fiction of the eighteenth century. Since, however, part of the evidence for showing how sentimentalism affected the heroic ideal lies not only in the sentimental hero's character, but in the author's attitude toward that hero, and in the general background of social growth which produced sentimentalism, some discussion of the author's attitude and of the general characteristics of the movement itself will be undertaken. What then was sentimentalism, what was its vogue, and how did it change the eighteenth century's ideals of heroism so as to prepare the way for the hero of the romantic quest?

In present day discussions of sentimentalism there are two views which have attained wide currency, one made popular by Professor Neilson, and one by Professor Bernbaum. As the application which they make of their definitions largely concerns itself with poetry and the drama, and as the elements which they emphasize do not seem to me to be the distinguishing features of sentimentalism in the novel, I shall review briefly their positions as a prelude to a discussion of what I conceive sentimentalism in the eighteenth century novel to have been.

In his "Essentials of Poetry" (1912), Professor Neilson in a chapter on Sentimentalism in Poetry defines sentimentalism as "the cultivation of emotion for the sake of the thrill, of the subjective experience", and the sentimentalist, he goes on to say, gives to charity not so much to relieve distress, as to get "a flush of satisfaction from the picture of himself as Benevolence relieving Misery". This love of sensibility for its own sake, he adds, in the eighteenth century "seized on the congenial theory of the essential goodness of the human heart" . . . to show "that the criminal was at bottom a good fellow, who had been led astray by the force of circumstances and who consequently was to be pitied rather than blamed." In the sentimen-

talism of some of Shakespeare's characters, and in the sentimentalism of the poetry, drama, and novels of the eighteenth century, this "emotion for the sake of the thrill", Professor Neilson finds, is the strongly unifying motive in both audience and author. The eighteenth century notion of the essential goodness of human nature which Professor Neilson merely mentions in passing as a sentimental idea, he does not specifically apply, nor does he discuss it. It is this latter more philosophical though perhaps also more limiting view of sentimentalism which Professor Bernbaum finds important and which he makes the basis of his treatment of the subject. "Confidence in the goodness of average human nature", he says, "is the mainspring of sentimentalism".¹ And again in describing the sentimentalist's code in the introduction of his anthology of "The English Poets of the Eighteenth Century", Professor Bernbaum expands this same idea.

Sentimentalism's "chief doctrines, rhapsodically promulgated by this amiable and original enthusiast (Shaftesbury), were that the universe and all its creatures constitute a perfect harmony; and that Man, owing to his imate moral and aesthetic sense, needs no supernatural revelation of religious or ethical truth, because if he will discard the prejudices of tradition, he will instinctively when face to face with Nature, recognize the Spirit which dwells therein, -- and, correspondingly, when in the presence of a good deed he will recognize its morality. In other words, God and Nature are one; and Man is instinctively good, his cardinal virtue being the love of humanity, his true religion the love of Nature. Be therefore of good cheer: evil merely appears to exist, sin is a figment of false psychology; lead mankind to return to the natural, and they will find happiness."

In other words, Professor Neilson finds the chief characteristic of sentimentalism is to regard the pathetic emotions as an end in themselves rather than as a means to a good deed, or than as a by-product of something well done; and Professor Bernbaum, tracing the movement from Shaftesbury's Deism, finds that it is the denial of evil, and a belief in the goodness of the

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Cf. Bernbaum, Drama of Sensibility, p. 2.

average human heart and of Nature.

Though it is undeniable that many of the works which are commonly called sentimentalistic have one or both of these characteristics, especially in the poetry and in the drama of the eighteenth century, it has seemed to me when I brought these two definitions to the test of applying them to the sentimental novel that neither notion could be accepted as the dominating characteristic of a good many works of sentimental fiction; and that though sometimes it may be said that sentimental novelists like Sterne worked up emotions for the sake of the thrill, it could not usually be said; and that though sometimes they were Deists and believed in the goodness of average human nature, it would be unadvised to maintain that this was a dominating characteristic, at least among many of the novelists. It does not for instance seem to me true that Richardson believed in the goodness of average human nature, certainly not in "human nature" as revealed by Lovelace; and if it be retorted that Lovelace was corrupted by society, it is then pertinent to inquire why Sir Charles Grandison, with a similar social background, was not corrupted. Nor does it seem to me that Professor Neilson's definition is of great assistance in enabling us to understand Richardson, as I do not believe that Richardson's aim in selecting his materials was to produce a sentimental situation merely for its own sake. Nor do I believe that Pamela or Clarissa were merely playing with their own emotions in order to enjoy weeping, or fainting, or dying, or that Sir Charles Grandison was merely an attitudinizing lover and humanitarian more in love with contemplating himself in the pose of a lover and humanitarian than he was with the pursuit of happiness and virtue. And yet I do believe with Professor Neilson and Professor Bernbaum that Richardson was a sentimentalist, and that Pamela, Clarissa, and Sir Charles Grandison are thoroughly sentimental characters. It is therefore proper that I should show a reason for this belief, redefine the

main characteristic of sentimentalism as it applies to the novel, and then proceed to show how the growth of this spirit aided in the evolution of the hero of the romantic quest.

The main characteristic of sentimentalism in the English novel of the eighteenth century, then, was not a Deistic belief in natural goodness, nor a love of emotion for its own sake. With the exception of Amory and Sterne, the novelists of the age regarded sentimentality as a means, rather than as an end. Good feeling with them was only a prelude to good morals, good deeds, a good life. Feel good, and all these other things shall be added unto you, sums it up briefly. Thus given a world of sentimentalists, they thought, and there would be found in the system of things nothing innate to interfere with man's happiness. In other words, get the heart to feeling right about things, and it will be possible to make most of the artificial problems of society, of selfishness, and of over-conventional manners disappear, and such a man will soon find himself in harmony with nature and with his fellow men, with all, that is, but the rake, or the wit, or the sneering self-seeker. This, however, is not the same thing as asserting that average human nature is good, or that sentimentalists love emotion for the sake of the thrill. Deism is a philosophical doctrine inapplicable to say, Pamela; and sentimental self-intoxication, a phrase which has in it something of slander, is inapplicable except to the characters of Amory and Sterne. The doctrine that does apply to the sentimental characters of Richardson, and Fielding, and Thomas Day, and Brooke is that sensibility is good because it leads to goodness, and not because it is aesthetically enjoyable or founded in Deistic philosophy. Such a distinction is important as preparing the way for a hero of the romantic quest, as a hero who regards sensibility as a means to an end, rather than as an end in itself, is apt to be more dynamic,

more outreaching, more in search of an end that is remote, social, or romantic, than is the hero with whom an emotional response is an end in itself. Thus the latter type of sentimentalist as seen in Amory and Sterne has as his quest only the search for a situation that will give him the desired thrill; whereas the sentimentalist of Brooke and Day, for example, seeks an elysium that is more remote, more social, more humanitarian. It seems true then that the Deistic belief in the goodness of nature and of average human nature, or the belief that sentiment is good for its own sake - if I feel good I am good - are forms of sentimentality that have only a limited application to the novels and their heroes of sentiment in the eighteenth century. The form that does apply, however, is the more dynamic tendency to regard sensibility as a means by which to gain some more remote goal of moral, social, or spiritual happiness.

Now this doctrine that a good heart, or a good will is indispensable as a prelude to a good life, is in a way a moral doctrine with a strong Christian bias at its back. For it was one of the doctrines of the Christian faith that the forgiveness of past sins and the prospect of future reward both depended on just such a change in the feelings, in goodness of heart, in a tenacious and holy reverence for love, and for a God of Love, and in making this second birth a prelude to a search for heavenly or earthly rewards. And it is easy to see how Richardson, believing such a doctrine as this, would produce just the kind of novels which he did produce, with the avowed intention of "recommending the cultivation of religion and virtue in both sexes". On the other hand had Richardson been told that he believed in the goodness of average human nature he would hardly have concurred, and had he been told that he was merely concocting a situation which would give him and his readers a pathetic thrill, he would have replied that though his stories were, to be sure, pathetic, and he hoped fit to stir the heart, that

the pathos was only a means to an end, and that that end was the reformation of mankind by enlisting their emotions of pity and fear in the service of virtue. Such an interpretation as this of sentimentalism and of the driving power behind sentimentalism is I believe more consonant with the general trend of the sentimental novel in the eighteenth century than either a pure Deism or a pure self-emotionalism is. Sentimentalism was indeed a religion and a far from contemptible one. Like Christianity itself, it developed its excesses, its disciples of aberration and false doctrine, but if we would understand its driving power and its renovating influence in the lives of many of the finest natures of the eighteenth century and in the growth of the novel, it will be I think only by taking a somewhat more sympathetic view than either Professor Neilson or Professor Bernbaum thought themselves justified in taking in their discussions of the sentimental poetry and drama of the period.

If then it is correct to say that the sentimentalism of Richardson's characters differs from the sentimentalism that preceded him, such say as that of Shakespeare, as seen in Romeo when he is in love with Rosaline, or as seen in the Duke Orsino in love with love, it will I believe be seen that the difference lies in just this more dynamic or purposive characteristic: Richardson has used sentimentality for a moral purpose, whereas Shakespeare has not. Richardson harrows up the soul in order to show us the good heart at war with wickedness, and not only at war, but conquering wickedness with a new weapon, the weapon of Pamela's purity, and unarmed sensibility, or of Clarissa's piteous weakness, which though it does not finally shield her from Lovelace does finally conquer his wicked nature. With Richardson sentimentality, the achievement of a pathetic and sympathetic heart, is to be used as the shining armor of a beneficent religion; with Shakespeare it is portrayed quite in another manner as merely the tempera-

mental defect of an effeminate and wanton nature. The Richardson^{ian} sentimentalist, therefore, was heroic, whereas the Shakespearian type was weak. And this heroism lay in the fact that the Richardsonian sentimentalist was himself on a kind of quest or reforming mission. Like the romantic exhibitionist of the nineteenth century he held himself up to view, and trailed a weeping if not a bleeding heart before a sneering society of rakes and satirists in order to melt their cruel natures with pity, and so to heal them of their vices, and of too great a dependence on the rules of common sense or of right reason. This stress on the heart rather than on the head, on feeling rather than on convention, and on making this feeling the means of a personal or social reformation, was thus a kind of liberating adventure, and was apt to bring about in one of the newly "awakened souls" a missionary zeal for the new happiness that would lend to personality or to society in general a more romantic appeal, and an impulse to exploration. It demanded on that account an analysis of the heart, and an imaginative picture of the sentimentalist's social elysium and the heroic ideal which should bring it about. This analysis and picture Richardson began with minute art. The ideal which stirred the hearts of his heroes and heroines was purity, morality, and, having risen to high station by such laudable means, benevolence to the lower orders. Though such a goal is not yet very romantic, or elusive, it has an outward tendency. Morality is in Richardson's characters social as well as personal, and in the expansive emotional tendencies which lay just beneath their impassioned virtues, there was stirring a spirit of reform, revolt, and search for higher values that was to turn sentimentality to more romantic uses.

The subjoined plot of the chief documents of sentimentalism in the poetry, drama, and fiction of the eighteenth century gives at a glance the chronology of its rise and growth in these forms of literature, and shows

that until 1775 at least, the novel was the chief vehicle and popularizer in great works of art of sentimental and humanitarian feeling.¹ From this chart of the movement it is evident that the increased stress on the importance of goodness of heart which we have noticed in the novels of Richardson took its rise in philosophy from the moral essays of Shaftesbury (1709-11), showed itself first in poetry in the poems of Thomson and Brooke, and in drama in the plays of George Lillo, and then passed over into the novels of Richardson there to acquire the greatest vogue, and an increase in artistic subtlety, psychological analysis, and moral motivation.² From 1740 to 1790 there is a series of great names in the novel whose works were floated on the great tide of sentimentalism. Richardson, Amory, Sterne, Rousseau, Brooke, Mackenzie, Thomas Day, and in part Fielding and Goethe; whereas in both poetry and the drama during the same period, Macpherson, Cumberland, Goldsmith, and Sheridan comprise all the important exponents of this view of life.

What then was the course of the hero of sensibility in the eighteenth century novel, and how did his expanding personality and the resulting liberation of the heroic ideal from the confining clogs of common sense and satirical reason grow into romance, and the hero of the romantic quest? In his first novel, "Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded" (1740), Richardson set himself the problem of showing servant girls the value of preserving their virtue in spite of the temptations to which they might be subjected. This lesson, dull enough in itself, he had in some manner to bring home to his readers so that they might themselves be enough affected by the story to follow his heroine's example. This he did by means of a conflict. Since virtue unattacked or

¹
See p. 45.

²
Of. Professor Bernbaum's The Drama of Sensibility, chaps. VIII, IX.

CHART OF BOOKS ON THE CHINESE WORLD BEARING ON SOCIETY DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Philosophy

Shaftesbury "The Moralists" 1709.
" " "Characteristics" 1711.

Novels

Poems

Drama

1740 Richardson, "Pamela".

1735-43 Brooke, "Universal Beauty".

1726-30 George Lillo, plays.

1742-45 Young, "Night Thoughts".

1744 J. Warton, "The Enthusiast".

1746 Richardson, "Clarissa Harlowe".

1749 Fielding "Tom Jones".

1761 Fielding "Amelia".

1753 Richardson, "Sir Chas. Grandison".

1756, 1760 Amory, "John Bunce".

1759, 67 Sterne, "Tristram Shandy".

1766-72 Plays of Goldsmith, Mrs. Gifford, Richard Cumberland.

1760 Rousseau, "La Nouvelle Heloise".

1762 Rousseau "Contrat Social".

1762 Macpherson, "Ossian".

1764 Rousseau, "Emile".

1766-77 Brooke, "The Fool of Quality".

1768 Sterne, "The Sentimental Journey".

1770 Goldsmith, "The Deserted Village".

1771 Mackenzie, "The Man of Feeling".

1773-80 Sheridan, comedies.

1774 Goethe, "The Sorrows of Werther".

1783-1800 Blake, poems.

1783, 7, 9, Day, "Sanford and Merton".

1785-1800 Burns, poems.

untampted is apt, at least in a novel, to prove somewhat insipid, Richardson posited opposite his simple, heroically pure, ideal heroine her exact opposite, a cynical, adroit, subtle, quite unscrupulous man of fashion, who has the further advantage of having the heroine economically in his power as his servant. What is the purpose of this dramatic picture of sexual conflict? The purpose intended by Richardson he himself tells us was to show "virtue rewarded", and the reward was not only that by her sensibility and virtue Pamela married her rich master, but that these qualities in her aroused the same moral passions in him (and it is hoped in the reader); virtue defeated vice, and sentimentalism between serving girls and their masters was, as we say today, pragmatically justified. In other words, not passion, but the illegal gratification of passion is to Richardson, and Pamela, and Mr. B--- vice! Rouse the passions as much as you please; use them if you will to ensnare the mind and soul of your master; only, seek for them an outlet that is moral or benevolent, and your virtue (i.e., legalized passion), will be rewarded. If this is not the theme of Richardson's sentimentalism, I am at a loss to explain Dr. Johnson's famous remark that Richardson had "taught the passions to move at the command of virtue", namely, in the service of virtue. Richardson was indeed no sentimental naturalist, playing with emotions and sexual conflicts for the purpose of being thrilled. It is Mr. B--- before he has reformed who is that, or Lovelace, who in a similar role of cynical rake remarks that "whatever our hearts are in our heads will follow. Begin with spiders, with flies, with what we will, girl is the center of gravity, and we all naturally tend to it". But with such egoistic rakes Richardson is in hearty disagreement. Though indeed "girl is the center of gravity", even with the sublime Sir Charles Grandison (1753), it is the emotional purity of Pamela or the piteousness of

the deceived Clarissa that is the center of moral gravity, and that will in the end defeat or conquer the cynical naturalism of a Mr. B-- or a Lovelace. Passion aroused and in quest of virtue, then is the chief trait of Richardson's heroes and heroines; it is only lawless passion that to him is vice.

How now may it be said that arousing the passions in the service of morality was a romantic tendency, and how did such a tendency cause the eighteenth century hero of sentimentalism to evolve into a hero of the romantic quest? In the first place the emotional tended to destroy the conventional, and set the heart free,^{was} a tendency toward romance. Again, the theme of passion obliterated all other themes, destroying the variety and balance of life, and by this loss of sanity and perspective making it harder to control unruly desires, and therefore easy to give way to romantic impulses. This tendency of even moral passions to become unruly Richardson did not anticipate. However, the moral was by no means the most exciting or the most memorable thing about "Pamela" or "Clarissa Harlowe". Instead of encouraging Pamelas or Clarissas, the novels tended to arouse the unhealthy curiosities and desire for immoral adventure in the Mr. B's, and the Lovelaces; the traditional inhibitions of the moral code tended to relax amid so much emotional warmth, and the desires of the heart for fullness of life tempted heroes and novel writers to explore these new and enticing fields. The passions, Richardson believed, might be used as a spur, if rightly directed. Older moralists had been inclined to emphasize their need of a check, both of an inner will and of an outer social inhibition. As in most men it is the amorous feelings that suffer the greatest curb under civilized conditions, it was therefore to be expected that a philosophy which removed the check to impulse would liberate the desires of sex. This is exactly what did happen. With the exceptions of Mackenzie, Brooke, and

Thomas Day late in the century, the sentimental novelists of the eighteenth century are largely concerned with the relations between the sexes, and with the emotional quest for some moral, spiritual or social utopia which they hope to attain by this liberation of the heart's desires. This, then, is the ingredient in the character of the eighteenth century sentimental hero or heroine which Richardson supplied for his successors, the quest for emotional fullness of life, and the belief that in goodness of heart itself, and sympathetic feeling, there was a sufficient spur for the reformation of men's manners, morals, and social relations.

Believing, as Richardson did, that the passions should be used as a spur to virtue, it is easy to understand how he would believe that Fielding in "Joseph Andrews" (1742), had committed the unpardonable sin in his reduction of Pamela's virtue to an absurdity. In this work Fielding shows us Pamela's brother Joseph, the serving man of Lady Booby, sister to Richardson's Mr. B--, a brother who is as tenacious of his virtue as his redoubtable sister had been of hers, with what results of Rabelaisian laughter the world is still all too good a witness. Again in "Tom Jones" (1749), Fielding seems scarcely to be on the side of the angels when he portrays as a hero a rake who has some of Lovelace's vices, though not his caddishness, and at the same time has that chief virtue which Richardson admired, goodness of heart. Since it was Richardson's belief that goodness of heart, sensibility, was a spur to virtue, it must have been highly disconcerting to see it used as an accompaniment to vice. Because Fielding, after making Tom guilty of the sins of the flesh, declines to punish him severely, but excuses him for his goodness of heart, he too has been called a sentimentalist.¹ How correct is such a charge? With Richardson, we have said, morality, that is, obeying the marriage laws, sanctified passion. With

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Cf. Professor Bernbaum's Drama of Sensibility, p. 165.

Fielding a good heart, though not sanctifying passion, does, with a little easy repentance, excuse it. This no doubt showed that Fielding had a soft heart, but that this makes of him a sentimentalist seems to me worth dispute. Professor Cross¹ points out in this connection that though in a sober mood Fielding would have accepted as completely as did Square the moral doctrines of Lord Shaftesbury, in the character of Tom Jones he puts Shaftesbury's ethical system to a sort of humorous test by bringing it into conjunction with real life. It is just here that it seems to me Fielding criticises rather than embraces sentimentalism. Tom has all the sentimentalist's "social virtues; he is kind, considerate, and generous", and yet there is a flaw. He is a victim of his very excess of sensibility, and falls into error. The flaw in Richardson's formula for goodness which Fielding thus revealed in the character of Tom Jones was to be far more glaringly revealed in the novels of Laurence Sterne. There sentimentality instead of rousing the passions in the service of morality or benevolence, like Richardson, or excusing them on the score of youth and high spirits, like Fielding, quite frankly employed them in the service of sensuality. In a novel of Thomas Amory's, also, slightly preceding Sterne, the fact that sentimentality may be roused in the service of other more romantic quests than the moral and prudential ones of Richardson's characters, became amusingly clear. In Amory's nympholeptic wanderings, and in Sterne's sentimental quests for emotional rapture, the hero of sentiment turns more unrestrainedly toward the realms of an emotional romance, and the quest of a thrill for its own sake.

Thomas Amory (1691-1788) at one time a literary celebrity, is now chiefly known, if at all, because of his revival by Lamb and Hazlitt in

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W. L. Cross, The History of Henry Fielding (1913), II, chap. 19, p. 212-217.

1825.¹ That he had considerable vogue before that is shown by the fact that as late as 1788, some twenty-two years after the publication of his great work, "the author of 'John Bunclé'" was the subject of a literary controversy running through several numbers of the Gentleman's Magazine. In 1798 he was still considered an important person, the General Biographical Dictionary (1798-1810) giving him a good deal of space; though by 1812-16 when the second edition, entitled Chalmer's General Biographical Dictionary, was published, this space was greatly reduced, as in the interim he had apparently diminished in importance. That Chalmers had a low opinion of Bunclé, and so of Amory, is shown in his remark that Bunclé "appears to have travelled in search of Unitarians, as Don Quixote did in search of chivalrous adventures, and probably from a similar degree of insanity", an opinion often repeated since, but perhaps as often violently objected to by Amory's admirers as a baseless libel.

Amory's chief work "The Life and Opinions of John Bunclé, Esq." (1756-66), a title suggestive of Sterne's "Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman" (1759-68), consists of the pilgrimages and adventures of Bunclé, and of his learned discourses with the most remarkable females in literature on such subjects as Popery, unitarianism, mathematics, medicine, natural scenery, curative waters, sexual aberrations, and Christian Deism. The cause

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Thomas Amory (1691-1788), an eccentric writer of Irish descent, who seems to have known Swift in Dublin, though the evidence is doubtful, and who lived about 1757 in Westminster with a small country retreat near Dounslow. His works consist of Memoirs Concerning the Lives of Several Ladies of Great Britain; A History of Antiquities, Productions of Nature, and Monuments of Art; Observations on the Christian Religion; Remarks on the Writings of the Greatest English Divines, etc., 2 vols. In 1756 he published the first and in 1766 the second volume of John Bunclé, evidently a continuation of the Memoirs. For what accounts there are of Amory's life, see the Gen. Biog. Dict. 1798; Wm. Hazlitt, Essay 18, Round Table; Retrospective Review, 1st series, VI, 100; Gent. Mag. 58: 1062; 59: 107, 322, 372; Saturday Rev. 12 May 1877; Dict. Nat. Biog.; John Fyvie, John Bunclé and its Author, Some Literary Eccentrics (1906).

of his wanderings he himself relates to one of his "dear delightful girls" quite unconventionally at their first meeting:

"I am a wanderer upon the face of the earth, through the cruelty of a mother-in-law, and the unreasonableness of a rich father, who has forsaken me because I will not submit to the declarations and decisions of weak and fallible men, in matters of pure revelation and divine faith, and own the infallibility of the orthodox system. Because the assent of my mind could not go beyond the perception of my understanding, and I would not allow that the popular confession is the faith once delivered to the saints, therefore I was thrown off, and obliged to become the pilgrim you see before you." ¹

This golden freedom to believe in Unitarianism it must be said comes to nothing more substantial than holding rare converse with his "glorious girls", not the least glorious feature of their many charms being that they never disagree with his opinions. Amory himself is said to have led the life of a recluse on a small fortune in Westminster when he was writing this book, and it is likely that he never experienced at first hand the many marriages and hair breadth adventures here related. A nympholeptic imagination, however, enabled him to make his John Bunclie the jolliest of Bluebeards. He has seven wives, all dead either by accident or disease, before he is thirty. He mourns for them in quite an original manner by keeping his eyes shut for periods varying with the degree of the grief from two hours to ten days. The mourning over, he selects the next wife, as he thought it impious to mourn too long. "Nature", he remarks, "lends us a wife for a time", and "as I had forfeited my father's favour and estate for the sake of Christian Deism . . . it was incumbent on me after a little decent mourning, again to consecrate myself to virtue and good fortune united in the form of a woman."² And no less remarkable than the brevity of these ladies' lives was the learning which they exhibited. Miss Spence, for instance, had "the head of Aristotle, the

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Amory, John Bunclie, Bk. II (1756), p. 64.

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Ibid, Bk. III, pp. 119-151.

form of Venus, and the heart of a primitive Christian"; Miss Noel was an authority on philology and the Babelonian dialects; and a third wife was particularly accute in fluxions. In short all were prodigies of learning, all Christian Deists, all endowed, all masters of languages, logic, philosophy, mathematics, art, and love. It is not to be thought however that the society of these ladies was too learned. Bunclè has "Pepys' trick of exaggeration and susceptibility to beauty", as well as his looseness and sensuality. On the slightest provocation there is kissing, making love, and marrying, though the children are dismissed in one sentence, damned at a stroke with the remarkable remark that "they were in no way remarkable". Glorious girls apparently did not have glorious children. Though Bunclè is not gross in his imaginations, he is sometimes indelicate. He is a Philanderer, a flutterer after ladies, and his predominant interest is not Christian Deism or any other learning, but is in the palpitations of his own heart. All things from mathematics to religion he "turns to favour and to prettiness" in the forms of his dear delightful girls. The book is a pean of praise to female beauty, and all Bunclè's monstrous show of learning is brought forth merely to display their excellences, and to afford him some traffic with them. His romantic exploits in rescuing them from wicked guardian uncles and housing them in his lodge until they become of age; his exaggerated love of nature, anticipating later romantic descriptions of wild scenery; his passion for putting twenty, forty, a hundred beautiful women together all at once in female republics or lodges, and imagining himself as the only bee to sip at so much honey, - all this is but putting a new, and it must be admitted refreshing Celtic variety into the stale business of Richardson. Were it not for a wild windy Irish madness about the story, it might have founded a new cult in the English novel, but to the staid English temper it must have seemed too sportively sentimental to be quite safe. Its

Celtic eccentricity lacked Rousseau's social earnestness, and Richardson's moral air, and lacking such a center fell somewhat outside of the main stream of sentimental endeavor, and if we except the work of Sterne, failed to establish a progeny. It is interesting, however, as an example of the perversion or excess of sentimentalism, of the Christian Deist who works up an emotional state or situation for the sake of the thrill, and whose chief interest in others lies in the amount of heart stimulus which they are able to supply for his délectation.

Amory then, continues though he perverts Richardson's liberation of the heart, by adding a variety of compounds, intellectual, religious, Celtic, feminine. These odd compounds he fuses into the character of John Buncle remarkably, until despite the oddity and impossibility of the conversation and incident, we do come to recognize in Buncle one of the most individual creations in fiction. He is so artless, so silly, and so sincere, that he is impressive. That such a hero is a forerunner of the hero of the romantic quest is evident from his emotional ecstasy, his love of adventure, a slight touch of Celtic madness in his pursuit of his Unitarian female utopias, and in the eccentric sentimentality with which he makes everything minister to the desires of his heart. These are, indeed, romantic traits, and in so far as they constitute romanticism, Buncle may be called a hero of a romantic quest. The full title, however, I am disposed to deny him, terming him rather a sentimental sensualist than a hero on a romantic quest, as there is in his character something silly, something a bit low which destroys any romantic atmosphere of imaginative beauty or wonder. Then too, at heart Buncle's dreams scarcely ever rise above the plane of philandering desires; he is more a master of an utopian Irish harem than he is of any really liberated world of idealism or golden adventure. In the impulses of his heart,

however, and in his love of wild adventures, romantic scenery, and in his quest for female utopias inhabited with Unitarians, Amory has portrayed in John Bunicle a hero of sentimentality whose quest has much in common with later romantic themes and heroes.

The glorification of impulse, passion, whim, and a humorously pathetic sensibility, with a quest for whatever aroused and stimulated the sentiments of intrigue and illicit emotional adventure, received, however, a much greater development and a more enormous popularity from the novels of Laurence Sterne (1713-1768), than from "John Bunicle". The divorce of morality from sentimentality which Amory began, Sterne completed. With him morality in the sentimental novel receives a new definition; sensibility is morality, and not as with Richardson a spur to morality, a means of exciting mankind to embrace marriage and lawful passion, but a pure a priori passion which is its own excuse for being, and the results of which, though probably shocking to conventional persons, are good if and when they feel good.

"The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman, Comprising the Humourous Adventures of Uncle Toby and Corporal Trim" (1759-68), gave to sentimentality, to an exaggerated sympathy for dumb animals and for slaves, to the pursuit of a whimsically eccentric immorality, an importance and popularity in the mind of mid-eighteenth century Englishmen that was comparable only to the vogue of a more militant and social sentimentality whose seeds Rousseau was at the same time sowing in Europe. The book consists of a series of highly spiced adventures, whimsical escapades, odd opinions, and humorous exaggerations. My Uncle Toby Shandy, a retired captain who had been shot in the groin at the siege of Namur never tires of telling the story of his wound, and of the battles he was in. My Uncle Toby is peaceful, "with scarce the heart to retaliate on a fly", and yet he has been one of the bravest of captains. He is as naive and whimsical as a child, and as full of oddities

and tricks. His amours with the Widow Wadham show us the ease with which his heart was entrapped by this skilfull old veteran of a kind of war in which Uncle Toby was master not even of a hobby-horse. Other tainted flirtations, Rabelaisian descriptions of births and accidents of conception, and sympathetic portrayals of the hysterical emotions, combined with his ability to work up a passion, leave it, return to it again, always carrying the excitement by degrees higher and higher, while at the same time making the passion in which he is engaged a matter for levity and humorous self-admiration, are but some of the ingredients of Sterne's complex sentimentalism. Uncle Toby, the quixote on a hobby-horse typifies this sentimentality, as does the Reverend Mr. Yorick, Sterne himself, a witty, dissolute, whimsical sentimentalist, who values his pathetic sensibilities highly, who offends his parishoners by his plain speaking and witty gibes, and his refusal to take them, himself, or his own duties seriously, and who by his eccentric whims and immoral escapades scandalizes the middle-class moral neighborhood in which he lives. It was of such a Sterne that Byron remarked, perhaps unjustly, that he would weep over a dead ass, but let his mother starve.

With the sentimental hero of Sterne, then, sentimentalism has lost that general moral purpose which it maintained in Richardson's heroes, and which in Fielding and to a certain extent in Amory it still retained. Sentimentality is to Sterne the highest good because the quest of the sentimental experience and the sentimental occasion afford him the thrill, the humorous leer, or the pathetic deprecation which his temperament demands. He is perhaps the worst offender in the English novel in his abuse of sentiment, in that he not only exaggerates its importance in life, but in that he perverts it from its intended use as an aid to morality and humanitarianism, and makes it, as Professor Neilson has said, an end in itself. The result of

this perversion was a revelation of the glaring ills that lurked just beneath the surface of this expansive and apparently genial emotionalism. The selfishness and irresponsibility of the Reverend Mr. Yorick, his failing sense for conduct, his unmanly school-boy leer at an indecent situation or suggestion, his unclerical purity, and his wanton pursuit of a pathetic stimulus at no matter what cost to convention, or family, or religion, were but some of the evils which sentimentality carried to excess and divorced from a moral fostered. This too great liberation of the passions, and this divorce of sentiment from moral or social purposes, though popular for a time, and destined to reappear again in a modified form in the Byronic heroes of the French Revolution, was not in the main temper of eighteenth century sentimentalism, and was soon checked. The moral sense of Brocke, Mackenzie, and Thos. Day rejected Sterne's philandering with the passions and returned again to the example of Richardson. Not content, however, merely to repeat Richardson, and no longer satisfied with a point of view which limited itself so rigorously to purely personal virtue, and to sentiment as an aid to exclusively domestic emotions, they begin in their novels a new experiment; sentimentality with them seeks a new outlet; it is no longer used merely as a spur to moral action, it now has instead a social aim.

Since Sterne had unwittingly shown that the sentimental hero too much liberated from environment and moral convention fell into an emotional debauch, it became necessary if the new religion of sentimentality, the great source of spiritual power which Richardson had discovered, was to remain of benefit to the English novel to give it some new outlet and significance. This Henry Brooke did in "The Fool of Quality" (1766), where he turned away from the pathetic fooling of Sterne, revived something of Richardson's moral tone, and by giving sentiment a social purpose, wrote the

first important humanitarian story in the modern English novel. With Brooke sentimentality then, definitely turns from an analysis of the individual character, or a stimulation of the emotions for reason of either purely moral endeavour or pathetic ecstasy, and places its attention on the environment as a vital factor in the field of moral endeavour. This outward trend of the sentimental novel marks the third quarter of the eighteenth century; the personal sentimentalist is displaced by the humanitarian sentimentalist, and the moral sentimentality of Richardson's heroes, which for a time was perverted from its purpose to the selfish aberrations and abuses of Amory's John Buncle and Sterne's characters, takes on a new meaning in the public social virtues of the Fool of Quality, and the utopian enthusiasms of the sentimental enthusiasts that succeeded.

When in his "Sir Charles Grandison" (1753), Richardson had set about the task of portraying a perfect hero without fear and above reproach, it is worthy of note that he added to the hero's virtue of being desired of many ladies, and of being a generous swordsman, the virtue of being something of a social reformer. The brave, the virtuous, the desired Sir Charles conducts his household affairs according to well thoughtout ideals; he refuses to have his horses tails docked; he is generous to the distressed, kind to man and beast, a genuine Lord Bountiful to his dependents. This addition, slight as it was, bore important fruit. Again in Smollett's "Sir Launcelot Greaves" (1762), it has been noted that the form Launcelot's love-sick melancholy took was to go abroad on a quixotic quest to right wrongs and do good to the distressed, that is, a humanitarian form, though it was there treated as a somewhat crazy endeavour. In "The Fool of Quality" Brooke expanded and developed these notions of benevolence, and by showing us a Fool whose very Quality was that he went about doing good to

others, buying men out of prison, enriching the poor, aiding the sick, and finding his chief goal and happiness in the joy of a benevolent life, he established in the novel a theme which was to be the forerunner of humanitarian utopias and utopians in great and increasing number.

This book, which Kingsley revived and praised in the nineteenth century, and which gave him the basis for his muscular Christianity, shows us for almost the first time a hero of the novel whose business is benevolence, and a world in which "all virtues, even Justice itself, are merely different forms of benevolence", and where "benevolence constitutes the heaven or beatitude of God himself . . . who is no other than an infinite and eternal Good Will." The plot consists of the adventures in benevolence of the hero, Henry Clinton, and interspersed between these adventures are long and ambitious abstract essays on the virtues of philanthropy. The precocity of the hero is one of the outstanding features of the story, as is the method of his development as the embodiment of a quest or ideal. It is a kultur or educational novel, and the theory of life which it presents is built around the character of Henry. The pedestrianism of Brooke's imagination prevented him from throwing about the hero a sufficient glamour of emotional idealism to make him very romantic, but in his emotional expansion and outreaching endeavour to benefit society, in his quest for a better world, he is closely akin to the perfectibilian hero of the romances to come.

Henry or Harry Clinton, the Fool of Quality, is in the beginning of the novel a precocious child semi-abandoned by his wealthy parents to the mercies of his nurses. This, as it turns out, is to his initial advantage, for it is thus that Henry becomes a true democrat, learns to despise all ranks and titles as of no consequence, and values only the title of democrat and gentleman. He is a natural child of quality, and one not to be spoiled by coddling, or by dress, or by the decorum of high society. As a child of

four or five on being sent for by his family and outfitted as became a son of a gentleman of rank, Henry declared that he would not be "poisoned by a fine coat", and proceeded to rip off the lace. This he had been taught to do by having heard the story of "the snobbish Hercules" from an old gentleman of the neighborhood who is his natural affinity, mentor and guide. At the age of seven Henry is so far advanced in good works as to declare "the sweetest gift" to be that which permits him to do good to others, and pursuing this ideal he gives to the poor his entire wardrobe. Even in games of sport if he won the prize, he was not content to keep it, but always turned it over to the defeated as a consolation for his defeat. Winning was prize enough for him. Of his athletic education by his tutor, Mr. Fenton, there is the following picture. "Mr. Fenton had a large lawn behind his garden; and hither he summoned three times in every week, all the boys of the vicinage who were between two years advanced above the age of our hero. To these he appointed premiums for foot-ball, hurling, wrestling, running, cudgelling, and buffing. But the champions were enjoined to invest their little fists with mufflers, in so much that, how great-soever their vigor might be, their bruises stopped short of mortality."¹ Emulation and benevolence are the only motives thought worthy of appeal in educating heroes, and fear or the giving of prizes are discountenanced as fit to excite only cowardice and avarice in a noble mind. Woman as an educative power is in Brooke's utopia to have a position of equality such as that possessed by "the divine Aspasia" who instructed Pericles, female beauty being of value to soften and elevate the counsels of men. To list the total result of this training in the deeds of the hero would be tedious. A few examples will suffice to show the forms which his benevolence takes. At the age of ten

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Henry Brooke, Fool of Quality, Chap. V.

Henry stops a prize fight which is to take place for money by calmly tripping up the intending champion, and at his objecting, giving him a bloody nose. At the same age, on being sent with fifteen hundred pounds to London to buy debtor prisoners out of Fleet Street Prison, five hundred being to get them out, and a thousand to set them on their feet again after they are free, he ends by spending thirteen hundred pounds more than is given him. This, however, far from being condemned as extravagant, is regarded by his patron as but another sign of his generosity and goodness of heart. Harry thus frees the fallen, enriches the poor, comforts the lonely, abolishes poverty, and marries amid the universal applause and gratitude (akin to love in this book) of the countryside. In other words, to Brooke there was something sterile about the purely personal virtues of Richardson's ideal hero; morality, chastity, goodness of heart, though they are still needful in the heroic character, yet have something selfish, even priggish about their concern for a too exclusive personal piety. Brooke therefore supplies his ideal hero with a new aim, or better a series of new aims. What, he asks, is the proper end of life; what are the quests in which a hero should engage? In order to answer this question fully, Brooke finds it necessary to picture not only a perfect hero, but his ideal of a perfect state, and the individual's relation to society. And of the nation Brooke finds that "the wealth prosperity and importance of all this world are founded and erected on three living pillars, the Tiller of the ground, the Manufacturer, and the Merchant". Trade, therefore, but not conquest, is the proper quest of a nation, and trade which shall enrich the many and not the few. The trader's ambition is not to e'erleap itself, but is to be regulated by the principle of communism because it demands the greatest amount of benevolence to make it succeed. Lycurgus, the law-giver of Sparta,

Brooke believes, was "the greatest hero among the ancients", and Don Quixote the best of the moderns; the former because he abolished money and persuaded the rich to divide their lands with the poor, to give up sensual and selfish desire, endure hardship and pain patiently, take daily exercise, and have a noble contempt for death; and the latter because he righted wrongs, redressed injuries, lifted up the fallen, and pulled down those whom iniquity had exalted.

In the ideal state therefore, all should be excluded who will not work or who prevent others from working. "Among those who will not labour we may count all those who have the happiness of being born to no manner of end; such as the monks of every country, the Dervishes of Persia, the Brahmins of India, the Mandarins of China, and the Gentlemen of these free and polished nations." And again, "among those who disturb the labour of others I reckon all your rascally Alexanders and Caesars whether ancient or modern, who in their fits of frenzy and folly, scamper about, breaking the lanterns and beating the watch of this world, to the great amazement of women, and the terror of little children". The gentleman's purely social polish, then, and the warrior's quest for military glory are excluded. Brooke does not, however, limit his hero to purely commercial endeavour. There are other quests which he admires or recommends. It is for instance thought proper to seek out beauty in nature, as such a beauty is thought to be God impressing his own beauty on nature, so that he can behold his own countenance there with eternal delight. Beauty in persons is also a legitimate charm, though dangerous, and of it Brooke anticipating Goethe's "Elective Affinities", says, "it is an enchantment or magnetism with which some persons are so powerfully endowed as to engage the liking of all who barely behold them; an enchantment often attractive of friendship, passion, affection, tenderness, languishment, pain, sickness, and death". The attain-

ment of true gentility, not of the sham gentility of "gentlemanliness" should also be the quest of a hero. All outward signs of rank or show such as the grantees of China have with their long fingernails, or the lords of England have with their titles and servants are shams; character, modesty, benevolence, humility, and firmness in the right are the only true marks to be sought after. And finally Brooke tells us that the hero should engage in a spiritual quest: "the spirit of man is a deathless desire; its cravings can not be satiated till it is possessed of some object that is adequate to its nature; and as this world has no such object to exhibit, gratifications only serve to provoke to further desire, or finally to sink us into utter despondence". It is for this reason that Alexander wept. The only ultimate satisfaction, he thinks, must therefore be looked for in another life which is to be looked forward to as a proper reward for having lived a heroic life here, modeled on benevolence, and questing toward a Christian-socialist state similar to the one he suggests.

In "The Fool of Quality", then, it is important to note a further reaching out or extension of the personality of the hero and of the heroic ideal. Instead of making what is individually desirable the chief unit of measure, and testing men by their polish, wit, learning, self-control, or artistic sense, we are asked to judge men by the amount of good they do for their fellow-men. And what is this good which a man may perform by nature without undertaking the arduous disciplines of self-repression and culture? It is found in the environment, outside the hero, in the quest for the socially desirable. The question then tends to become not what kind of character has the hero, or is he a gentleman, but is he useful, what social unit value has he, does he fit the economic machine? The old Christian discipline had been concentric, personal; humanitarianism is more eccentric, social, putting its law of measure and control in the environment rather than

in the individual. The problems and dangers of this new form of sentimentalism Brooke did not see, and it remained for the later novelists to discover that there lurked in this form of sensible enthusiasm as many dangers, though of a different form, as there were in the sentimentality of the heroes of Amory and Sterne. The beatific emotion which welled up in the heart of Henry Clinton as the effect of his own good deeds, and the gratitude with which they overwhelmed him, turned out to be as unstable as a social formula for the amelioration of mankind as the chaste sensibility of Pamela had proven for the uplift of the working classes. The downright assumptions of Brooke were soon challenged, though his spirit remained, and in the humanitarian novels to come the popularization of an already attained formula is replaced by a quest for the yet unattained perfect social formula, and in such a quest the sentimental humanitarian becomes romantic, his world takes on an elusiveness and fantasy, that is of the essence of romanticism. It is in the humanitarian who has become a perfectibilian that sentimentality first became embodied in a hero of what may truly be called a romantic quest.

The popularity of the sentimental humanitarian questing toward a perfected society was again attested by the great vogue of Henry Mackenzie's "Man of Feeling" (1771), a novel which lacks the robust vigor of "The Fool of Quality", but portrays in the languid consumptive hero a pathetic Lord Bountiful with something appealing about his very ineffectiveness. In this novel the hero, Harley, goes on a journey to London, seeking preferment by political influence, having failed through his lack of tact, too great honesty, and an excess of temperament to get his aunt to leave her fortune to him. In London he has the same ill luck, but thoughtless of himself, he devotes his time to aiding distress by rescuing a fallen woman and returning

her to her father, and by viewing Bedlam, a brothel, and a misanthrope, and weeping -- the book is flooded with tears -- over the sins and sorrows of the sinned against. Returning unsuccessful from London, he falls in with a soldier who is just back from the wars, finds it is an old honest neighbor who because of a grudge the squire had against him has been impressed into the service in the Indies. When they arrive home, the soldier learns that his son, his daughter-in-law, and his own wife are dead, and the son's children are in the orphanage. Harley enables the soldier, Edwards, to get them out and to start up a small business on a farm. They both weep from sheer gratitude and kindness. This situation affords Mackenzie an opportunity to protest against "trade as the quest of a nation" because of its selfishness and the oppression of the natives under England's wicked colonial system, a point in which Mackenzie differs with Brooke.

The book ends with the love affair of Harley with Miss Walton, an heiress with four thousand pounds a year income, in consequence of which superiority, Harley thinks she is a star quite out of his reach. Finally, however, he grows ill, confesses his love, finds it is returned, and is so astonished and overcome at his good fortune, that from the very excess of his own happiness he expires. The death scene is famous: "he seized her hand -- a languid color reddened his cheek -- a smile brightened faintly in his eye. As he gazed on her, it grew dim, it fixed, it closed--He sighed, and fell back on his seat-- Miss Walton screamed at the sight -- His aunt and the servants rushed into the room -- They found them lying motionless together. -- His physician happened to call at that instant. Every art was tried to recover them -- With Miss Walton they succeeded -- But Harley was gone forever."¹ Here we have even frail health employed to increase the sensibility of the reader; the consumptive who cannot ride backward without

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Henry Mackenzie, Man of Feeling, Chap. LV.

becoming ill, and who sits about in drooping attitudes, with his eyes raised to heaven, is lauded as an ideal. He is something of a vagabond, ineffectual, following whim, planning no very definite future, living passively, enjoying his own sentimental pessimism, relieving distress, and extolling by his tears benevolence as the cardinal virtue. The hero is a kind of weak edition of the hero in Brooke's "Fool of Quality", he is a drifter, life is too much for him, and the harsh environment of a cruel world shatters his frail young quest before it is well started.

One other novel, and one of far greater power than Mackenzie's completes the fiction of sentimentality in English, and by means of another educational novel shows us again the model child who embodies the humanitarian formulas. This work, "Sanford and Merton" (1783-7-9), by Thomas Day, has been called a sturdy English edition of Rousseau's "Emile". Day himself, the son of a custom's collector who left him twelve hundred pounds a year, was noted even as a child for his kindness to animals, having refused once to kill a spider for the curious reason that they were "not so obnoxious as lawyers", and he thought it wrong to kill them. He was always a man of fads, at Oxford drinking nothing but water, and with Richard Lovell Edgeworth, whom he met there, becoming an ardent and life-long Rousseauist. Edgeworth brought his son up on Rousseauistic principles, and Day not to be outdone, adopted two girls of tender years in order to bring them up so, and eventually marry one of them "if she prove fit". Needless to say they turned out badly, and Day had to marry elsewhere. He studied law and architecture, but never practised either; he gave away most of what he had to the poor, but was not particularly dear to them on that account. He took some part in politics by writing about them, but would not run for office, preferring running his model farm, which lost money, and his own schemes for social reform. He was killed at middle age by a vicious horse which he was trying to tame by

Rousseauistic benevolence.

His chief novel, "Sanford and Merton", still sometimes read, is the story of two boys, Tommy Merton, the son of a rich gentleman, and Harry Sanford, the son of a farmer. Tommy is spoiled by indulgence and wealth and servants until his health and temper are both bad; Harry, on the other hand, learns to work, to despise riches, and to prefer a horn cup to a silver goblet, as it does not demand worry to take care of it. As Harry one day has the good fortune to rescue Tommy from a snake, Tommy's rich father in gratitude sends Harry to school with Tommy to a Reverend Mr. Barlowe, "of Rousseauistic make". Those who don't work shan't eat, and the cardinal virtue of life is benevolence, are the two chief principles of the school. A story which Mr. Barlowe sponsors will illustrate what it was hoped the boys would believe was a fair description of the ways of the world. There was once a Good-Natured Little Boy who went on a day's trip. The food he had taken with him for his own dinner, he gave to a hungry dog and a legless sailor, and proceeding on his way hungry, he nevertheless took the time and effort to rescue a broken down horse and aid a blind man to find his destination. Weary and hungry, on his way home he was met by the dog who brought him a sandwich to eat, was eased on his journey by the horse who carried him part of the way home on his back, and was saved from having to go home naked by the blind man and the sailor, who frightened some thieves away from the good-natured little boy whom they were stripping. Led by the example of Harry, Tommy's heart is melted, he becomes sentimental, and turns out to be a model young man, and returns again to his family quite restored in morals and in health. "Sanford and Merton" is in form and spirit much like Brooke's "Fool of Quality", the episodes being all connected by their relation to the main theme of the hero's education, and the education being designed on the formula of good-Samaritanism. As in the "Fool of Quality" there is a benevolent

tutor, the rich spoiled child, and the poor "natural" child; there is the same stress on benevolence, on aiding the poor, and on the reward of good feeling or of increased sensibility which comes as a result of benevolence. Harry is the good-hearted youth, with good physical trim and much dash, who embodies humanitarian feeling in so affecting a form as to melt the hearts of all wilful or selfish persons who meet him. As with Richardson, Rousseau, and Brooke, feeling right, which can only come from benevolence and goodness of heart, is the first essential in the reorientation of an heroic man or an heroic society. To abolish cruelty, selfishness, poverty, and false class distinctions was the new aim of sentimentality, and the talisman by which such a regeneration was to be effected, was right feeling, humanitarian desires, and a love of mankind in the mass. That good feeling was not enough, and that a political program would be necessary the English sentimental novelists had not yet discovered. This they were to learn from the works of Jean Jacques Rousseau, the philosophical and political implications of whose writings demanded deeper thinking, and less facile panaceas than the humanitarianism of Brooke or Thomas Day had supplied. But Rousseau's revolutionary fire did not burn deep into the English consciousness until the later novels of the French Revolutionary era, and a discussion of his influence should therefore fall in the succeeding chapters. Suffice now to say that the impact of Rousseau and of the French Revolution on English thought, and the effect of that impact on the quest for a liberated society, and for the perfect social formula which should bring about that liberation, changed the humanitarian enthusiast of Brooke and Day into the more romantic perfectibilian dreamer of Holcroft and Godwin. Without the humanitarian and his belief that a liberated heart was alone sufficient to regenerate society, the problems of the perfectibilian hero would hardly have arisen. Mere good feeling, it turned out, had been tried and found wanting; the world was more

wicked than had at first been supposed. The perfectibilian, though he still has faith in the possibility of a regenerated society, is more doubtful of his method than the eighteenth century sentimentalist had been. He too is a child of sentiment, following his heart rather than his head, but his quest is more elusive, and his problems which are more highly colored demand a higher imaginative power, and a more romantic heroism for their solution. Such a hero the new generation of novelists produced. It will be the task of the succeeding chapters to set down something of his history and reveal his portrait.

Summarizing the growth of sentimentalism, then, and its effect in giving rise to the hero of the romantic quest, we have seen that with Richardson the melting mood of sensibility and passion was first used as an incentive to purity of moral life, and as a spur to excite a virtuous emulation in the wicked. The weakness of this belief was revealed, partly by Fielding when he showed Tom Jones with as good a heart as Pamela's -- some would add with an even better heart -- and yet committing many of the faults of a rake. But this weakness was even better brought out by the deistic sensuality of John Bunce, and the perverse immorality of Sterne's heroes, who were quite as able as Richardson's to feel good about things, but were at the same time capable of sins that would have made Richardson shudder. This scandal of sentimentality, however, died with Sterne, and sensibility was again employed morally in the service not so much of personal morality as of social amelioration or humanitarianism. This regeneration of society by universal benevolence was the ideal of the novels of Brooke, Mackenzie, and Thomas Day, and with them began the educational novel whose heroes embodied such a humanitarianism. The Fool of Quality, or benevolent Christian, though questing toward a regenerated society, was too pedestrian, too sure of his goal, too prone to adopt an easy and business-like method to be termed a

hero of the romantic quest. In his emotional fervor, his eccentric search for utopia and an utopian society outside himself, in his naive belief that by a mere wish of the heart if it were only made universal the world might be regenerated, and finally in his suggestion of a spiritual ultimate beyond the grave that should make earth's crooked ventures straight, the humanitarian sentimentalist of the late eighteenth century is romantic in program and in mood. As a forerunner, therefore, of the hero of the romantic quest such a hero is of great importance. That the humanitarian of Brooke and Day was not completely romantic was due, no doubt, to the time in which he lived. An explosion was required to jar him out of the rut of the eighteenth century pedestrianism. That explosion the French Revolution supplied, and it was in the glare of that upheaval that common place took on the features of romance, and the quest for a regenerated society, which was the business of a new hero, the hero of the romantic quest, began in earnest.

If at the beginning of the ninth decade of the eighteenth century an English novelist revolving in his mind the themes of romance, and casting about for a character who should be the subject of a romantic story, had asked himself what material for his aid was at hand in the heroes and traditions of English fiction, what would he have found? Largest on the horizon, no doubt, would have loomed the heroes of sentiment: Pamela, Clarissa, and Sir Charles Grandison, sentimentalists in quest of a somewhat priggish and sterile morality; and following them the scandalous heroes, Tom Jones, John Bunce, Tristram Shandy, and the Reverend Mr. Yorick, whose quest was frankly passionate; and last, the Fool of Quality, Henry Clinton; Harley, the Man of Feeling; and perhaps Tommy Merton and Harry Sanford, heroes of a pedestrian but earnest humanitarianism. Besides these passionate pilgrims with their quests for moral, sensual, or humanitarian intrigues, a cultivated



reader would have noted the idyllic naturalism and the revolutionary democratic impulses of Rousseau's heroes, and perhaps the abandon and nostalgia of the Sorrows of the Young Werther. Not only heroes of a various sentimentality, however, were at hand to afford a romantic stimulus to the novelist then about to write. The bizarre adventures of the Arabian Nights or the Persian Tales, and those solemn moral and philosophical pilgrims Mirzah and Rasselas with their dream of life as a hopeless quest for happiness, a quest made tolerable more by duty than romance, were there, waiting a place in the new romances, and needing only the hand of a Beckford to reanimate their lifeless clay, and romanticise their quest. And finally, in the crude adventures of the picares of Smollett's Roderick and Peregrine, and in the quixotic quests of Parson Adams, Launcelot Greaves, Arabella the Female Quixote, and Geoffrey Wildgoose the Spiritual Quixote, the pursuit of the elusive ideal would have been clear enough to a ready imagination as symbolic of romantic quests, and heroes, and their pilgrimage across the dream-like stage of this world. That ready imaginations were alive to the promise of such a hero, and were to make him one of the chief figures of the romantic decades then about to begin, it will be the business of the succeeding chapter to unfold.

CHAPTER TWO

FORTY YEARS OF IMPERFECT AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TYPE: 1790-1830.

- I. THE HERO OF THE ROMANTIC AUTIST IN MEDAEVALISM AND THE GOTHIC ROMANCE.
- II. THE HERO OF THE ROMANTIC AUTIST IN NATURALISTIC AND PERFECTIONILIAN ROLES.

CHAPTER TWO

FORTY YEARS OF EXPERIMENT AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TYPE: 1790-1830.

Besides the three main streams of influence shown in the growth of orientalism, quixotism, and sentimentalism in the novel of the eighteenth century to form the spirit of romance, and usher in the new hero of the romantic quest at the end of the century, there were other influences beginning then, that aided the growth toward romanticism and the eccentric protesting hero. These were, however, but minor growths in eighteenth century fiction, and came to fruition in England only with the stirrings of the French Revolution. One of these tendencies, Medievalism and the Gothic Romance, is closely allied both in spirit and in matter to the quixotic novels and the oriental tale of the eighteenth century, and combines with orientalism in Beckford's "Vathek" (1784), to produce a novel that contains the first important hero of the romantic quest in modern English fiction. Another tendency, one closely allied to Teistic sentimentality, and perhaps an outgrowth of it, was the new attitude toward nature, the new spirit of naturalism which first took form in the English novel about this time, a spirit noticeable in "Vathek", and animating the character of the hero in a way somewhat new to English literature. Besides assisting in the rise of this naturalistic hero, sentimentalism may lay claim to the stimulation of a new kind of humanitarian, the perfectibilian, who, though he is no longer satisfied with the formulas of Procter and Day, is still full of faith in the perfectibility of man, and is seeking the perfect social formula by which society may be regenerated. The experiments of these somewhat minor novelists during the next forty years, from 1790 to 1830, in general group themselves under

one or two of these three divisions. Thus the hero of the romantic quest developing in these novels appears in the Gothic Romance as a Byronic superman, or supernaturalist, or Wandering Jew; in the novels of Naturalism as a back-to-nature idealist, or a scientist who would order life according to the mystic formulae of natural sympathy or of natural law; and finally, in the Perfectibilian novels of the French Revolution, as the hero in quest of the perfect social formula, and the consequent establishment of an utopia here on earth. Under these three general divisions, therefore, I shall discuss most of the heroes of the forty novels that portray the various types of romantic quest, relating the growth of their heroes, as far as I may, to the doctrines from which they spring, and to historical and philosophical sources and relationships.

PART ONE

THE HERO OF THE ROMANTIC QUEST IN MEDIAEVALISM AND THE GOTHIC ROMANCE.

Though the interest in the middle ages which received its chief impetus from Macpherson's "Ossian" (1762), and Walpole's "Castle of Otranto" (1764), is too well known to demand much exposition, the effect of their revival of mediaevalism in developing the picturesque, romantic, beautiful-soul type of hero is a fact of literary evolution which has not been sufficiently emphasized.¹ It is difficult to be romantic in a world of common sense, or in a philosophically abstract world of reason, where the emotions are either belittled, or unveiled, dissected, and explained. This difficulty was felt by Walpole, and though he was always a little apologetic to his hard-headed age as to the propriety of his experiments with the supernatural, he nevertheless made it his business, as Ossian had done before him, and as Coleridge was to do some thirty years later in the field of poetry, to create a new atmosphere, a region of fear and wonder, where the supernatural might appear probable. That there was a considerable

¹The Byronic hero, the Gothic villain, the romantic heroine of swooning and weeping, of poetry, and of curiosity for the horrible and supernatural, and the perfectibilian hero, receive frequent mention in such a work as Miss Dorothy Scarborough's The Supernatural in Modern English Fiction (1917), but their mention is only incidental, without attempting to trace the evolution of characters or heroic types. The same is true of such studies as R. N. Whiteford's Motives in Fiction (1918), Edward Dowden's The French Revolution and English Literature (1897), H. N. Brailsford's Shelley, Godwin, and Their Circle, and A. E. Hancock's The French Revolution and the English Poets (1897). In The French Revolution and the English Novel (1915), Miss Allene Gregory devotes more attention to the heroes and heroines of the revolutionary novel than other critics have done. In her descriptions of the characters in the novels of Godwin, Holcroft, and Lucas, Miss Gregory reveals something of the formula on which those characters are composed, and their connections with the philosophy and politics of their times. That these heroes were the result of a long process of growth, and that they are exemplars of the spirit of romantic quest, and so much different from the heroes of the age of prose preceeding them, it was not her purpose to point out.

background of such endeavour in the latter half of the eighteenth century 75.
is evident from the reviving historical sense which renewed an interest in Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton, especially for their romantic qualities, and from the production of such works as Hurd's "Letters on Chivalry and Romance" (1762), from the ballad revival brought about by Percy's "Reliques" (1765), from Gray's studies and translations of Old Norse and Gaelic, and from the critical researches in medaevalism of the Wartons. Perhaps the chief service of the return of medaevalism to English literature was the creation of a new atmosphere, a different tone and mood, a more romantic view of nature and history, and of the possibility of man's destiny here on earth. The means by which this new atmosphere was created are, it is interesting to note, pretty clearly revealed in the "Castle of Otranto," There we have Walpole's own statement that his purpose was to make his characters act in a probable manner when they were placed in improbable situations. The improbable or supernatural elements which he relied on for a glamour of unreality he did much to originate in the English novel: the Gothic castle of romance, with its waving plumes and helmets, and its medaeval machinery; the correspondence between the terror of event and the melancholy in the soul of the hero, with the terror and melancholy of nature, of wind and water, and cloud and moonlight; and finally, the dark romantic hero of Byronic cast, beautiful, poetic, a child of fate, and blasted with melancholy.¹

Walpole's "Castle of Otranto" (1764), relates the adventures of Theodore, an apparently poor young man, but one who is really heir to an estate, and who is led on to his heritage by bleeding statues, talking skeletons, and supernatural horrors, all working together to the undoing of the usurper and murderer who now has the estate. Theodore, though at

¹Cf. Sir Walter Scott, The Lives of the Novelists (1821), Essays on Horace Walpole, Clara Reeve, and Mrs. Ann Radcliffe, for an early account of the origin and growth of Gothic supernaturalism in English fiction.

first honest, plain, and unspoiled, is turned by his melancholy environment and the death of his intended bride into a hero somewhat Byronic. Daring, sad, handsome, romantic, he finally marries his first lady's dearest friend only because "he was persuaded that he could know no happiness but in the society of one with whom he could forever indulge the melancholy that had taken possession of his soul."¹ In wickedness, however, Theodore is not Byronic, nor is he as full of the spirit of exploration, adventure, and of romantic quest as Childe Harold or Don Juan. This in fact is his greatest weakness as a romantic hero: he is too passive. Things happen to him; he does not definitely undertake a quest or pursue an ideal. The motivating force of the story therefore is really not Theodore at all, but the castle with its supernatural machinery. If there is a romantic quest in the story it is the quest to unseat the murderer and give to Theodore his rights in his estate. But this quest is carried on by the castle's inanimate forces and supernatural accidents, and it would therefore be more proper to term the Castle of Otranto itself the hero than to give the title to Theodore. As a passive forerunner of the Byronic hero of romance, however, he plays a part in building up the Gothic hero of melancholy and aspiration; and in the motive power of the mediaeval machinery and supernatural horrors and atmosphere, an environment is created in which the hero of the romantic quest when he arose some twenty years later could breathe and develop.

In "The Old English Baron" (1777), Clara Reeve supplies an historical setting amid the Wars of the Roses for a new sort of Gothic Romance, a sort which reduced Walpole's supernatural horrors to mere accidents all of which are carefully explained away on the basis of reason and probability; - a reduction of romance to commonplace which irritated Walpole greatly. Edmund Lovel, the hero, like Theodore, is the real heir to an estate, but is kept

¹ Horace Walpole, Castle of Otranto, (1764), chap. V.

out of it by having been changed in his cradle and by the machinations of his father's murderer. After many adventures of friendship and of the supernatural guidance of providence in human affairs, he comes to the "ambitious end" which in a vague way he had always felt providence would bring him to. The story deserves little attention in the progress of romance, though it was popular, for it does little to produce a romantic atmosphere, and it adds no romantic or questing elements to the character of the hero of the romantic quest. Its chief importance as a romantic work is as a power in carrying on the traditions and vogue of the Gothic romance from Walpole to Beckford and Anne Radcliffe.¹

Wm. Beckford (1759-1844), was the first English novelist to set forth a finished portrait of the hero of the romantic quest.² His novel "Vathek" (1784), generally considered the greatest of the European oriental romances, is the story of an oriental prince whose appetite for experience is so great that it leads him to explore the utmost bounds of sensation, knowledge, and power. Finding content in none of these, he falls prey to the temptations of a diabolical gjaour, and commits a series of horrible crimes, in order to secure possession of the absolute in the shape of the "subterranean talismans that control the world." In the romance of Vathek's quest, and in the splendour of imagination with which it is described, Beckford belongs

¹ Clara Reeve's The Old English Baron (1777), was the most popular of her romances, requiring a second edition within a year. In 1772 she had published her adaptation of Barclay's Argenis under the title The Phoenix, but for most of her romantic tendencies she avows her indebtedness to The Castle of Otranto.

² For accounts of Wm. Beckford, see Cyrus Redding, The Life of Wm. Beckford (1859); Gent. Mag. (1844); The Annual Register (1844); and the Athenaeum (1844); and Lewis Melville, The Life and Letters of Wm. Beckford (1910). For criticisms of Beckford's work, see Lockhart's review of his letters, Quarterly Review, V. LI; an article by O. Tiffany, N. Am. Rev., V. XC; Paul Elmer More's Wm. Beckford, in The Drift of Romanticism (1913); Martha Pike Conant, The Oriental Tale in England (1908).

to the nineteenth century. The significance of his novel as a forerunner⁷⁸ of the romantic novels to come has not, indeed been appreciated, though as a symbol of romanticism it has been made good use of by Mr. Paul Elmer More in an admirable study of Beckford in "The Drift of Romanticism."¹ What Mr. More finds significant in Beckford was his vision of humanity as a restless throng seeking its happiness in an escape from limitations and finding instead of infinite happiness, only the infinite torture of a heart in flames. What he does not point out, however, is that though Beckford's interests and temperament were romantic, the moral which he reads into *Vathek*'s story is as classic and condemnatory as Mr. More himself can wish. Romantic in imagination and theme though "*Vathek*" is, it at least gives lip service to the morality and centrality of the eighteenth century. It is in the fact that here the romance is primary and the morality perfunctory, whereas in Addison's "*Vision of Mirzah*," the chief interest had been morality, that we perceive the progress toward romance which Beckford, in spite of his avowal of moral purpose, has brought about. Since, therefore, "*Vathek*" is the first modern English novel in which the romantic quest is the dominant motive of the hero's character, a knowledge of its author and story is important.

The life of Wm. Beckford was itself that of a prince of romance. The richest Englishman of his time, he was encouraged by an undisciplined nature and a soaring imagination to enormous expenditures on painting, music, architecture, and book collecting. In 1796 he began to build Fonthill, the famous palace of art of his time, and here he lived for many years an excentric recluse, indulging his own fantastic whims and sensual desires, a romantic dreamer in a tower of ivory. Famous for his novel "*Vathek*" and for his wealth and indulgences, his life excited curiosity and

¹ Paul Elmer More, The Drift of Romanticism (1913), pp. 1-36

scandal. His palace with its three hundred foot tower, which blew down 79.
once, he rebuilt, but in 1822 even Beckford's purse could stand the strain
no longer, and he was forced to sell his estate. He then retired to a smaller
palace and tower at Bath, and there, with the choicest of his treasures about
him, he lived until his death some twenty-two years later.

"Vathek", written in 1782 in French, but not translated and published in English until 1784, bears striking resemblances to the life of its creator. The Caliph Vathek, though "his figure was pleasing and majestic," and though his great talents led his subjects to expect a long and happy reign for their prince, had some characteristics which belied such expectations. He had, for instance, an eye which grew so terrible when he was angry, that it caused the death of those it looked on. Then too, he aspired rather too passionately to make for himself a paradise on this earth, and not content with the palaces which he had inherited, he added five wings, "which he destined for the gratification of each of his five senses." The names of these new wings or palaces suggest their purpose: the Palace of Perfumes, that of the Eternal or Unsatiating Banquet, the Temple of Melody, the Retreat of Joy or the Dangerous, and last, the Delight of the Eyes or the Support of Memory. This paradise of sensual gratification, as was to be expected, contained its serpent. Vathek was not happy. In fact having aroused his desires to the point of frenzy, he found himself tormented beyond endurance by his inability to find either happiness or content. "His unquiet and impetuous disposition would not allow him to rest," and he turned from the senses to the intellect, desiring, now that he had felt everything, "to know everything, even sciences that did not exist."¹ But in his pursuit of knowledge too, the Caliph showed as little restraint as he had shown in the pursuit of sensual happiness. He engaged in disputes with

¹
Wm. Beckford, Vathek (1784), ed. 1891, p.5

the learned, imprisoning those whom he could not convince, and even overthrew some of the tenets and prophets of the divine Mahomet. Observing this, the powers of heaven, Beckford tells us, decided "to leave him to himself.... to see to what lengths his folly and impiety will carry him," adding that "if he run into excess, we shall know how to chastise him."¹ Indeed, not stopping there, the powers of heaven themselves assumed the shape of the adversary, and placed at his disposal the services of the genii, and of a diabolical *glaour*. By adding to Vathek's romantic tower, which he is building with the hope of penetrating into the very secrets of heaven itself, two cubits for every one the Caliph built, the genii flatter his vanity, until by the time it reaches the height of eleven thousand stairs, Vathek is almost ready to adore himself. He receives a rude disappointment, however, when "lifting his eyes upward, he saw the stars as high above him as they appeared when he stood on the surface of the earth." His consolation is, that he is at least great in the eyes of others, and that perhaps "the light of his mind will extend beyond the reach of his sight, and transfer to the stars the decrees of his destiny," -at best a rather cold consolation.²

Instead of himself controlling the stars, however, he falls a victim to their influence, and thinks that in their signs he reads his own fate, a fate which is to be revealed to him by "an extraordinary personage from a country altogether unknown." This stranger proves to be a hideous Indian *glaour* with ebony skin, an enormous paunch, huge eyes that gleamed like firebrands, a horrible laugh, and long ambercolored teeth bestreaked with green. The *glaour*, like the Slave of the Lamp in the "Arabian Nights," exists in order to gratify Vathek's every desire, and like Mephistopheles in Goethe's

¹ Ibid. p. 5

² Ibid. p. 6

"Faust," finally tempts the hero into crime, blasphemies, and damnation. As ^{81.}

a warning against the giaour's temptation which promises to Vathek a palace of subterranean fire under the world where dwells Soliman Ben Daoud, and where are found the secrets of nature, the sources of life and power, the talismans that control the world, there appears a mysterious handwriting on Vathek's magic sabers. This writing, when interpreted, reads, WOE TO THE RASH MORTAL WHO SEEKS TO KNOW THAT OF WHICH HE SHOULD REMAIN IGNORANT, AND TO UNDERTAKE THAT WHICH SURPASSETH HIS POWER.¹ Deaf to this warning, and led on by an insatiable curiosity, Vathek proceeds to abandon happiness, humanity, his subjects' welfare, and the dictates of morality, wading on his romantic quest through a monstrous sea of blood, lust, and oriental tortures, spurred on by an overmastering passion for the all-controlling talismans. One of the worst of his crimes was to institute a series of games among the handsomest of the boys of his kingdom, offering as a reward to each of the fifty winners various pieces of his own garments. The Caliph stood at the edge of a cliff, and as each boy came forward naked to receive his prize, the Caliph, instead of giving it to him, hurled him over the cliff into the jaws of the blood-thirsty giaour. As this scene occurred at twilight, it was all over before the assembled crowd could discover what had happened. In return for this and other bloody sacrifices, the giaour bids the Caliph and his princess Nouronihar and his witch-like mother to set forth on the way to Istakar where ^{he} awaits their coming, and where they shall see the region of wonders, and receive the diadem of Gian Ben Gian, the talismans of the Soliman, and the treasures of the Pre-adamite Sultans.

Awe-struck but hopeful they arrive at the Hall of Eblis, and are met by the giaour. "Ye are welcome," said the giaour to them with a ghastly smile, "in spite of Mohamet and his dependents. I will now admit you into

that palace where you have so richly merited a place." Stunned at first with the beauty of color and light and the richness of ornament in these wide-ranging subterranean halls, with the wealth of food and drink, and the profusion of lascivious dances, Vathek and Nouronihar soon learn to delight in their surroundings. Their delight is ^{of} brief duration, however, for it is but a short time until they behold sights that are less pleasing. With something of Dante's sombre vigor Beckford describes his infernal host of spirits. "In the midst of this immense hall a vast multitude was incessantly passing, who severally kept their right hands upon their hearts, without once regarding anything around them; they had all the livid paleness of death; their eyes, deep sunk in their sockets, resembled those phosphoric meteors that glimmer by night in places of interment. Some stalked slowly on, absorbed in profound revery; some shrieking with agony ran furiously about, like tigers wounded with poisoned arrows; whilst others, grinding their teeth in rage, foamed along, more frantic than the wildest maniac. They all avoided each other, and though surrounded by a multitude that no one could number, each wandered at random, unheedful of the rest, as if alone on a desert that no foot had trodden."

The terrifying significance of the romantic quest of these "ambulating spectres" now begins to alarm Vathek, but to his questions the ghaour is ominously silent. Through a world of woe he leads Vathek to the throne of one of the kings of these regions of the nether world, the fallen Eblis, himself a ruin of romance and of the insatiable quest. In a hall carpeted with skins of leopards, he beholds a company of elders with streaming beards, and Afrits in complete armour, prostrated before a lofty eminence on the top of which upon a globe of fire sat the formidable Eblis. In the features of this prince ruined by excess of romantic desires, Vathek beholds a picture of the ruin that is about to overtake him. "His person was that

of a young man whose noble and regular features seemed to have been tarnished by malignant vapours; in his large eyes appeared both pride and despair; his flowing hair retained some resemblance to that of an angel of light; in his hand, which thunder had blasted, he swayed the iron sceptre that causes the monster Ouranabad, the Afrits, and all the powers of the abyss to tremble; at his presence the heart of the Caliph sank within him, and for the first time he fell prostrate on his face." This melancholy prince of darkness whose voice was more mild than might be imagined, offers to Vathek the pleasures of his palace, "the treasures of the Preadamite Sultans, their bickering sabres, and those talismans that compel the Dives to open the subterranean expanses of the mountain of Kaf.....where, insatiable as your curiosity may be, you shall find sufficient to gratify it."¹ Encouraged to know that the end of his quest is so near at hand, Vathek demands of the giaour to be led to the precious talismans. Passing the beds of incorruptible cedar where lay recumbent the fleshless forms of the Preadamite kings who had been monarchs of the whole earth, Vathek notices that they now seem to retain only life enough for remorse, and that each of these forms, like the ambulating spectres seen before, keeps his right hand over his heart. At last the giaour pauses, and Vathek finds himself before the awful judgment seat of the greatest of all the princes of ruin, Soliman Ben Daoud, whose hand is also at his heart, and who seems to be listening to the sullen roar of a vast cataract, visible in part through grated portals, and whose sound alone disturbs the silence of those dolorous mansions. Stricken with terror Vathek receives the dread talismans. The end of his quest is at hand. The reward for which he sold his soul and his happiness is for the moment in his possession. Absolute power is his; but with it,

¹ Ibid. pp. 84-92

alas, absolute doom. From the Soliman he hears his fate.

What Vathek's fate is to be the Soliman reveals by first relating his own story. "In my lifetime," says the Soliman, with livid lips, "In my lifetime I filled a magnificent throne, having on my right hand twelve thousand seats of gold, where the patriarchs and the prophets heard my doctrines; on my left the sages and doctors, upon as many thrones of silver, were present at all my decisions. Whilst I thus administered justice to innumerable multitudes, the birds of the air librating over me served as a canopy from the rays of the sun; my people flourished, and my palace rose to the clouds; I erected a temple to the Most High, which was the wonder of the universe; but I basely suffered myself to be seduced by the love of women, and a curiosity that could not be restrained by sublunary things; I listened to the counsels of Ahernan and the daughter of Pharoah, and adored fire and the hosts of heaven; I forsook the holy city, and commanded the Genii to rear the stupendous palace of Istakar, and the terrace of the watch towers, each of which was consecrated to a star; there for a while I enjoyed myself in the zenith of glory and pleasure; not only men, but supernatural existences, were subject also to my will. I began to think, as these unhappy monarchs around had already thought, that the vengeance of Heaven was asleep; when at once the thunder burst my structures asunder and precipitated me hither; where, however, I do not remain, like the other inhabitants, totally destitute of hope, for an angel of light hath revealed that, in consideration of the piety of my early youth, my woes shall come to an end when this cataract shall forever cease to flow; till then I am in torments, ineffable torments! an unrelenting fire preys on my heart."

"Having uttered this exclamation Soliman raised his hands towards heaven, in token of supplication, and the Caliph discerned through his bosom, which was transparent as crystal, his heart enveloped in flames." At a sight so full of horror, Nouronihar fell back, like one petrified, into the arms of Vathek, who cried out with a convulsive sob:

"O Giaour! whither hast thou brought us? Allow us to depart, and I will relinquish all thou hast promised. O Mahomet! remains there no more mercy?"

"None! none!" replied the malicious Dive. "Know miserable Prince! thou art now in the abode of vengeance and despair; thy heart also will be kindled, like those of the other votaries of Eblis. A few days are allotted thee previous to this fatal period; employ them as thou wilt; recline on these heaps of gold; command the Infernal Potentates; range at thy pleasure through these immense subterranean domains; no barrier shall be shut against thee! as for me, I have fulfilled my mission; I now leave thee to thyself." At these words he vanished."

Overcome by their impending doom Vathek and the princess Nouronihar make no use of their long sought powers, but spend the few precious hours that remain, relating to some others of those awaiting damnation the fruitless story of their quest. Only Vathek's witch-mother, Carathis, who now appears, has temerity enough to experiment with the talismans, and wield for a moment

the powers proper to her murderous nature. Finally, however, the fearful translation overtakes them all, "their hearts immediately took fire, and they at once lost the most precious of the gifts of Heaven--Hope." With a look of furious distraction, "Vathek beheld in the eyes of the princess Nouronihar nothing but rage and vengeance, nor could she discern aught in his but rage and despair." And so this trio of romantic pilgrims separated, and departed: "all severally plunged themselves into the accursed multitude, there to wander in an eternity of unabating anguish.... Such was, and such should be," Beckford concludes, "the punishment of unrestrained passions and atrocious actions,.....and the chastisement of blind ambition that would transgress those bounds which the Creator has prescribed to human knowledge; and by aiming at discoveries reserved for Pure Intelligence, acquire that infatuated pride which perceives not that the condition appointed to man is to be ignorant and humble.

"Thus the Caliph Vathek, who for the sake of empty pomp and forbidden power, had sullied himself with a thousand crimes, became a prey to grief without end, and remorse without mitigation."

In the character of the Caliph Vathek, as will be seen, there are many of the traits of the heroes of the eighteenth century, oriental, quixotic, and sentimental traits, and in the attitude which Beckford expresses toward his hero, there is much of the eighteenth century's love of morality, and incurious humility. What makes Vathek original, however, is not these traits, but the unacknowledged interest which Beckford shows in romantic passion, and the emphasis which he throws into the romantic glorification of a satanic hero, and an insatiable quest. In Milton's account of what is essentially the same story, there is a very real sense of condemnation for the enemy of all mankind. In Beckford's story of Vathek, however, this sense is rudimentary: what is dwelt on is the glory of the

hero's rebellious striving, his infinite yearning, and the fiery splendour of the doom which overtook him. Such a hero is far more passionately romantic too than a Rasselas, who, failing in his quest for happiness, could quietly subside in a kind of moral stoicism of regret and resignation, and give over the pursuit of his dream ideal. In the unlimited outreaching of Vathek's nature for the vast, the vague, the infinite, the old moral checks are, except in the comments of the author, almost forgotten, and a romantic quest for the absolute is substituted for the quests for adventure, morality, or humanitarian improvement, which characterised the heroes of the eighteenth century.

Significant indeed of the heroes to come rather than of those which preceeded him, is the Napoleonic ruthlessness with which Vathek disregards conventions, pity, and the social and moral laws when they interfere with his master passion. Desperate with desire, Vathek exploits the senses, the intellect, and his moral nature. World power or ruin is the wager he makes with the gods, and his method is one of attack, of conquest, not of submission, adjustment, or resignation. This all-consuming quest, this French Revolution in the character of the hero, symbolizes with startling clearness the new heroic ideal of a superman striding across the stage of the world, treading down men like grass, and spurred on by passion to seek some golden age of society, some dream ideal of emotional ecstasy, or some fantastic subterranean talismans of nature which will control the absolute, and allay the insatiable cravings of the heart.

Characteristic too of the hero of the romantic quest is the melancholy and exhaustion which results from these chaotic emotions, the world weariness, that malady of the age that comes after everything has been tried and found unsatisfying, and only a hopeless desire remains. It is interesting to note the differences between the hopelessness of the oriental heroes

of Addison or Johnson and the nostalgia of the hero of the romantic quest in Beckford's story. The eighteenth century heroes turn away from the universe and its problems with a kind of stoic melancholy and put their trust in moral renunciation. Vathek, on the contrary, turns with eagerness toward the infinite, and challenges the universe to satisfy his desires. Here at last the oriental hero has emerged from the mid-century plains of mist and melancholy, and is seen in his tower, silhouetted against the midnight sky, watching the wheeling worlds, and trying with soaring imagination to divine his place in the grand chaos. Behind him lie the trammels of convention and reason, and the fear of being absurd or quixotic or enthusiastic, and for the eighteenth century's negative checks, there is substituted a new urge, a positive force, a quest that is dynamic and romantic. Through a world of phantasmagoric unreality and subterranean wonder Vathek takes his way, ending after his excess of passion and desire, in the ruin of a heart in flames. In the traditional God-like nemesis which overtakes Vathek, Beckford clings to the judgments and morals of eighteenth century thought; but in the portrayal of his fall there is something of Miltonic splendor, a meteoric decline that has for the background of its burning ruin an infinity of darkness and wonder and romantic possibility.

In "Vathek," therefore, many of the forces of the eighteenth century novel came to a focus: the eastern orientalist's fantasy, colour, and adventure, together with some of the eighteenth century orientalist's moral atmosphere; the quixote's disregard of reality, of convention, and his total absorption in his grand pursuit; the Gothic Romance writer's supernaturalism, and his sense that life is in the hands of spirit powers; and finally the sentimentalist's excessive emphasis on the feelings, and his insistence that the world shall offer to the heart some ultimate satisfactions. But though Beckford uses orientalism, quixotism, gothicism, and sentimentality

in his story and in the character of his hero, he gives to both a new orientation, a more dynamic spirit, and a deeper imaginative and symbolical meaning. And it is this spirit of infinite aspiration, this symbolism of romantic adventure and quest for the soul's destiny that gives to Beckford's hero a position of significance in the development of the novel, and makes him not only the earliest, but one of the most artistic heroes of the romantic quest in modern English fiction.

Though "Vathek" was important in the development of romantic fiction, the triumph of Beckford's imagination in creating so significant a portrait of the hero of the romantic quest, inspired few imitators who could equal the symbolism or the rich imagery of his story. The new fashion in heroes who were romantically satanic does however find exemplars almost at once. Dr. John Moore's "Zeluco" (1789), though insignificant as compared with "Vathek," is a link between the satanic hero of the quest of Beckford and the Byronic heroes to come.¹ Zeluco, the hero, born of noble Sicilian parents, is spoiled by his mother, and becomes even as a child so imperious, cruel, and proud, that he resembles Nero. For squeezing a young sparrow to death his tutor spansks him, but as his mother dismisses the tutor for cruelty, Zeluco continues to follow the guide of his own temperament. Leaving school early, he takes up sports, dancing, and drinking. At his majority he adopts the vices of a man, gives free reign to all his appetites, and progresses from seduction to other crimes. His wild career, however, does not bring the desired happiness, and each experience leaves him a little more disillusioned, and yet more determined to persevere in his quest. Losing his money at gambling, he enters the army, but is soon dismissed for

¹ Dr. John Moore's Zeluco, or Various Views of Human Nature (1789), was popular in its day, demanding three editions the first year of its publication, and, according to Mrs. Barbauld, "placed its author in the first rank of writers of its class."

cruelty,-which seems incredible. He then marries a rich widow, secures her property, and by his unkindness causes her death. His second marriage, which begins with love, ends disastrously in unfounded jealousy. He strangles his own child, thinking it illegitimate; his wife loses her reason; and Zeluco is saved from being shot in a duel by one of his wife's friends, only because he is fatally stabbed in a brawl before the duel can take place.

It will thus be seen that Zeluco is a crude villain, though he is painted in colors that are intended to give glamour and a wicked fascination to his ruthless quest. He is handsome, cold, brilliant--or so his creator avers--and cruel. His quest is for happiness by means of egoistic self-expansion, and the limitation of his imagination is shown by the uncreative wickedness of his pursuits. There is about his character something of what might today be termed a "hard-boiled" quality; and he lacks the soul of the Byronic hero who could at the same time sin and grieve at the futility of sinning. Though Byron tells us in his preface to "Childe Harold" that he designed his hero as a "poetical Zeluco," Zeluco lacks the Byronic charm, and the sense of Byron's heroes for historical background, for the pathos and evanescence of life, and the brevity and wonder of beauty. Indeed Zeluco's creator did not admire him greatly, and though like Beckford he emphasizes the romantic elements of his hero's career, the moral he draws from it is that a merely passionate and selfish quest is hollow, ending in ruin, even if romantic ruin, and that happiness itself comes only as a by-product of benevolence, duty, and kindliness of feeling. Zeluco therefore added little but popularity to the villain-as-hero theme of Beckford, his sketch being but a kind of crude poster to Beckford's finished romantic portrait. In the line of historical development he does, however, show the growing interest in the expansive egoist of the day, and by his popularity

gives us a gauge of the public interest in the new villain, or the new hero of the romantic quest.

Perhaps the chief popularizer of the Gothic Romance was Anne Radcliffe, who from 1791 to 1798 ruled the English novel and established there the romantic school of terror. Her immediate influence on the growth of the hero of the romantic quest seems to have been slight, though indirectly, no doubt, she did much to add to the view of life which made such heroes popular. A brief consideration, therefore, of her romanticism and of its contributions to the age is necessary to an appreciation of the background of the romantic novel and the kind of heroes which it developed. The chief elements that go to make up the romanticism of her stories are exciting supernatural accidents, Gothic devices, deeds of blood and revenge and fierce passion, and poetical landscapes that reveal in the sublimity and terror of their changes a corresponding terror and awe in the souls of her characters. In her landscapes she shows her chief originality, far surpassing Walpole in their beauty and subtlety, and in the skill with which she contributes through their symbolism to the general terror of her stories. She makes the reader feel that life itself is a romantic quest; that destiny is shaped by unseen powers, and that natural and supernatural portents, the shrieks of a skeleton, an underground groan, the moan of the wind in a keyhole, or the fast-travelling moonlit clouds that fly before a storm, are but harbingers of the fate that attends on the steps of her heroes and heroines. In atmosphere, then, and in the pathetic supernaturalism of her Gothic castles and landscapes, she develops the novel of romance, giving it an air of wonder and adventure, and of the unreality of nightmare, dreams, and horrid quests.

In her characters, and in the symbolism of her themes, Mrs. Radcliffe is by no means so original. The romance, the spirit of the unknown, the lure of the supernatural in her stories depends on the unravelling of blood-

relationships, murders, and ghost-like accidents, and not on any inner necessity or fate in the characters of her heroes. In this respect, clearly, she returns to the crude first stages of romance which were noted in the early oriental translations and in the chansons de geste. To those early heroes of adventure and violence her characters may be most nearly compared. Signor Montoni, the Lord of Udolpho, for instance, a typical Radcliffian character, is quite obviously a dark Italian villain, without subtlety, soul, or surprising complexity, and without other romance in his nature than that due to avarice and passion. Adventure and passion, rather than morality, or spirituality, mark the level on which most of these heroes and villains exist. Mrs. Radcliffe does not explore the minds, and souls, or the obscure motives of her characters. They do not evolve, but act on simple lines, springing fully developed from her pen early in the novels. Only the monk, Schedoni, in "The Italian" (1798), shows human interest and insight into the subtleties of character. Like Zeluco he may claim some of the credit for the creation of the Byronic hero, the hero of pallor and melancholy, and romantic, unsatisfied desire.

One other novel of gothic horror written during the middle years of the decade of the popularity of the romance of terror, deserves some attention as contributing to the growth of the hero of the romantic quest. "Ambrosio, or the Monk" (1795), by Matthew Gregory Lewis, a story influenced by Goethe's "Sorrows of Werther," Schiller's "Robbers," and Mrs. Radcliffe's "Udolpho," relates with much vigor and some indecency the romantic life, adventures, and death of a satanic monk. This story exploiting a new kind of gothic horror, and published when Lewis was twenty, had in its day a success of scandal which over night gave its author the title of "Monk" Lewis, and a romantic fame similar to that of Byron twenty years later. Lewis, who, by a curious coincidence, succeeded Wm. Beckford as Parliamentary member

from Mindon in Wiltshire, was well versed in German romanticism, in Mrs. Radcliffe's earlier stories, and Walpole's mysteries of Udolpho.¹ Supposedly a man of holiness, Ambrosio, after condemning to tortures a nun who has been slightly guilty in a love affair, is himself/^{tempted} by a nun dressed as a monk. Succumbing to the temptation, Ambrosio becomes so hardened in sin, that to escape detection, he finally commits a murder. Condemned by the Inquisition to be burned, he sells his soul to the devil, but as he forgets in his excitement to stipulate for a long life of pleasure before he suffers damnation, he finds himself suddenly left on an awful crag at the edge of a precipice where vultures come and peck at his shorn head, and tear out his vitals.

Here then again in mediaeval settings amid crude gothic horrors is the villain-as-hero. Lacking a moral nature, and torn between the flesh and the church, Ambrosio decides to adopt as his law the exploitation rather than the control of desire. His is to be sure no very romantic quest, but in its unrestraint, in its disregard of other values, and in its portrayal of the torments attendant upon unlimited emotional expansion, Ambrosio's quest continues the satanic tradition of Zeluco and Schedoni.

It was not indeed until Godwin's "St. Leon" (1799), that the gothic hero of the romantic quest which Beckford had brought to so excellent a height, developed any new characteristics of importance.² In "St. Leon"

¹For an account of the inception of "The Monk" and the growth of romantic taste in English fiction which made its publication significant, cf. The Monk-Romantic fiction, in "The Life and Correspondence of M. G. Lewis" (1839), V. I, chap. VI.

²Wm. Godwin's St. Leon (1799), was popular in its day, and was early translated into German. Holcroft thought it would remain a permanent classic, and Shelley praised it highly. Cf. Kegan Paul, Life of Godwin, V. II, pp. 23, 25; and H. N. Brailsford, Shelley, Godwin, and their Circle, p. 172.

for the first time the effects of the French Revolution appear strongly in the gothic romance. With Godwin the tale of terror finds a new motivation, the villain-as-hero is no longer the purely personal egoist of Beckford, or Moore, or Lewis, but, as the personal sentimentalists of the eighteenth century became in the hands of Brooke and Day social and humanitarian sentimentalists, so in like manner the personal egoist of Beckford becomes the humanitarian egoist of Godwin. St. Leon is no selfish villain, but a hero who traffics with forbidden knowledge for the good of mankind.

"St. Leon" is a story, Godwin tells us, "in the miraculous class, designing to mix human feelings and passions with incredible situations." It relates the life of a young chevalier of the time of Marot, Rabelais, Erasmus, and Scaliger, whose promise of fame is cut off early in his career by the French defeat before the English at Pavia. Thrown back on himself, St. Leon, young and craving excitement, shuns the domestic affections and plunges into a life of abandon. Losing all his estates by gambling, he is sobered and desperate, but is sensibly resolved to reform and do well by his excellent wife, when there appears on his estate a mysterious stranger. This guest is very ill, and, growing worse, closets himself with St. Leon. Saying that he is about to die, and that he is the last of his mysterious order, the stranger offers St. Leon under vows of eternal secrecy, his two great talismans, the Philosopher's Stone, and the Elixir of Life. Eternal youth and unbounded wealth to a man in St. Leon's position are too tempting to be resisted; St. Leon accepts, and the stranger dies. So far we have Vathek's temptation, though under a different setting and in a slightly different guise.

Here, however, the parallel ceases. St. Leon is no ruthless egoist bent on infinite expansion and a quest for the absolute. He possesses the absolute already. Endless wealth, and endless youth are his. What will he

do with them? Since he has a good heart, it is to be expected that he will recover his estates and aid the distressed. These things he does, but as his losses had been well known, his sudden recovery arouses suspicion; his neighbors accuse him of having murdered the stranger for his wealth, and the church thinks him a magician in league with the devil. Flying with his family from persecution, he is finally thrown in prison by the Spanish Inquisition, where he languishes for years. Escaping at last, he finds the unnatural life, the strangeness of his secret source of wealth, his romantic retaining of his youth, preying upon the mind of his wife. They suffer a consequent alienation of the domestic affections and, a victim of brooding and grief, his wife finally dies. His son growing to manhood scorns him, and he lives cut off from love, cut off from human hopes, fears, and satisfactions, a wanderer on the face of the earth. Saddened by these afflictions, yet feeling in his heart an insatiable longing for the happiness of human kind, St. Leon travels from one place to another, a mysterious stranger of learning, wealth, and youth. For a time he succeeds in his humane endeavours, but not long. Yearning to serve mankind, St. Leon averts a great famine after a war in Hungary and Turkey, but this too turns to gall. Where does he get such wealth? Is he not the devil in disguise? The result of his benevolence is that again he is the victim of superstition, scarcely escaping treachery, imprisonment, and persecution at the hands of the refugees he has been befriending. Permanently ostracised from his family, St. Leon barely escapes having to fight a duel with his own son, and the only happiness which he does finally secure, is that of secretly enriching this same son and his bride with some of his mysterious wealth.

St. Leon, it is thus seen, is a new type of the hero of the romantic quest. No sensualist like Vathek or Zeluco, he is an estimable gentleman strongly reminiscent of Godwin himself, who has only the best of intentions

in dealing with humanity. A rationalist and a philanthropist, and endowed with immortal gifts, he decides to redeem the wildness of his youth by going on a quest for the happiness of mankind. Because of his unlimited wealth and youth, his high ideals, his benevolence, his lack of superstitions and prejudices, it might be thought that such a quest would be eminently a success. Who, indeed, better than St. Leon, could set up to play the deity to his fellow mortals? The embodiment of democratic and humanitarian sympathy, and endowed with power, St. Leon is a type of the new heroic ideal of his age. His endeavour was a symbol of the radical-liberal program of the Rousseauistic dreamers, who wished by fraternity and equality to establish the golden age. And their program was not only rationally constructed, it appealed to the heart, and like St. Leon intended to endow men with wealth, benevolence, and brotherly love. Why, then, did it fail? Why did St. Leon fail? Godwin's answer is interesting. Prejudice, custom, and the established superstitions of church and state defy the creative, liberating quest of the Promethean rationalist; and St. Leon is persecuted not so much by the gods, as by the very men he attempts to benefit. It is the old story of the gifted dreamer at war with the sottish mass, the Messiah crucified by those he came to save.

If there is a moral to St. Leon's pilgrimage, it would seem to be that men should not aspire to immortal powers. To work from within, as at least a partial partaker in men's prejudices and loves, and so gradually to liberate them in a mortal way, would seem to be a more useful pursuit, than to descend, like Godwin or St. Leon, from some rationalistic Olympus bearing immortal gifts. This priggish slavery to the light of reason was at once the immortal gift and curse of Godwin's life and philosophy, and this fatally ineffectual idealism he symbolizes in the character of St. Leon. He is the humanitarian greatly endowed, who would supply men with a wealth which they have not earned. But his quest is quixotic; it has a fatal flaw; it ignores

human nature. Men are suspicious of unearned blessings, and so the gulf of prejudice yawns squarely across the path of St. Leon's vicarious quest, and he is cut off from accomplishing his dream ideal, the happiness of mankind. Thus is Vathek's egoism subdued and humanized in St. Leon's quest, and because of its humanity, more pathetic in its frustration. Such a failure was symbolic of the radical romanticism of its day, and in St. Leon we see embodied the dream and the ineffectiveness of revolutionary humanitarianism.

Inspired at the age of seventeen by the wilder gothic suggestions of "St. Leon," rather than by its social implications, Shelley in "St. Irvyne, or the Rosicrucian" (1810), revived some of Vathek's egoism and passion, using as the basis of the story, the theme of the immortal person or wandering Jew.¹ As is usual, Ginotti, the hero, is the victim of a romantic temperament, of a nature that cared for philosophy and alchemy, but not for love. "From my earliest youth," says Ginotti, "before it was quenched by complete satiation, curiosity, and a desire for unveiling the latent mysteries of nature, was the passion by which all the other emotions of my mind were intellectually organized."² Pursuing this romantic quest, he comes to believe that religions are all superstitions, that there are no supernatural spirits, and denying also a First Cause, believes that everything is included in the powers of nature. Satisfied for a time with this naturalistic belief, he discovers to his surprise that he is not at rest. Melancholy at his own approaching dissolution overpowers him. In this condition he is tempted by Satan with the

¹Of Shelley's prose works little beyond a description of them as the exercises of a youth at Eton who at sixteen was imitating Mrs. Radcliffe is usually given. Cross says Shelley's stories are a combination of Godwin and Mrs. Radcliffe; Saintsbury remarks that they are the most feeble of the works of a man of genius; and Raleigh finds in them the crudity of Maturin's early work and the absurdity of Godwin's complacent dogma. For an account of their production see Edward Dowden's Life of Shelley (1886), V. I, pp. 89-93.

²P. B. Shelley, St. Irvyne or the Rosicrucian (1810)

promise of immortality if he will but deny his Creator. This Ginotti does, but again he finds the object of his desire turns out to be more of a curse than a blessing. The guilt of the unpardonable sin is always with him, and will not let him rest. Thus, unless he can get some mortal to accept of his immortality Ginotti is doomed to eternal wandering; like Vathek, a spirit of unrest and desire, but without love, and without hope.¹

A far more original picture of the hero of the romantic quest, and one the modern world has found suggestive enough to add a new idiom to the language, was Mary Shelley's "Frankenstein, or the Modern Prometheus" (1818). This too is a story of the quest for the elixir of life and the philosopher's stone, but instead of giving the theme a humanitarian twist as her father had done in "St. Leon," Mrs. Shelley discovers in it a symbol of the romance of scientific discovery. Victor Frankenstein, the hero, is interested even as a boy in Rosicrucianism and the works of those who seek the elixir of life and the philosopher's stone. At the University he studies chemistry and the human body searching for that principle of life without which our organization would be only an inert mass. He studies the causes of life and death, decay and animation, until at last he reaches the great discovery: he learns how to bestow animation on lifeless matter! Startled by his discovery, he hesitates for a long time before attempting to use it, but after long consideration he decides to create a human being of gigantic stature. He resolves that this scientifically created man shall be a beautiful being, but though it is so when lifeless, as soon as it comes to life, Frankenstein is horrified to see a creature so horrible that he can not endure to look at it. Terrified by its grimaces, he rushes in agony from his laboratory,

¹ Cf. Thos. DeQuincey, Historico Critical Inquiry into the Origins of the Rosicrucians and the Freemasons, London Magazine, 1825.

and when he returns the monster is gone.

This disappearance, however, is not the end of the monster. A series of crimes and weird adventures follow. Frankenstein's youngest brother is found strangled to death, and though the monster is guilty, and Frankenstein suspects as much, he permits an innocent man to be hanged for the crime. Eventually Frankenstein meets his creature in the Alps. Its complaints against Frankenstein, its creator, and against mankind are bitter. Striving to be of use and advantage to human beings, it finds itself repulsed with loathing. Another complaint is its loneliness, its lack of a mate. It therefore demands of Frankenstein a new creation to serve as its companion and wife. Though loathe to agree, Frankenstein is compelled by threats to do so. At the very last however, he reflects on the horrible crime of peopling the earth with so monstrous a breed, and destroys the inanimate female. As a result Frankenstein's bride is murdered on her wedding night; Frankenstein himself is murdered; and the monster, wavering between hate and pity, finally is conquered by the latter. Unable to gratify its hunger for companionship and benevolence, the monster at last springs on an ice raft, and is borne away by the winds and waves, and lost in the darkness.

Here then again we have as a hero of the romantic quest a curious scientist, whose vaulting ambition o'erleaps itself and in the search for the secret of life creates a monster that destroys him. Here as with Vathek, and St. Leon, success is fatal. To attain the ideal is to destroy it, and so to destroy the quest and the very reason for the hero's existence. The power of the story lies partly in the pathos of the half-human longing in the breast of the monster, but chiefly in the romantic symbolism of its suggestion that modern promethean discoveries are apt to result in the growth of monsters of science and invention the final result of which will be nothing but the destruction of their makers. Aside from the scientist's quest,

there is the quest of the monster for happiness, for human friendship, and for the good of mankind, but because of his hideous features his desires are always thwarted. The pity and horror of the scenes in which he watches the life of a simple family from his seclusion in a shed adjoining their house, his efforts at imitating them in learning to talk, his discovery of love and its effect on their lives, gives us by a kind of lightning glimpse of romance new insight into a quickened sympathy for the life of man on the earth. In Mrs. Shelley's hands we therefore see the hero of the romantic quest courting scientific success and scientific destruction. The lesson is Titanic, Promethean, and there is added a suggestion that too great curiosity is not for mortals, but that reverence for the mysteries of nature, of creation, and of the affections of men, that awe which bids man to "live as a mortal," should be the check to ambition, and to a too romantic quest. Frankenstein is a symbol of the scientist betrayed by too much science, of the romantic quest destroyed by too romantic a success, and of the law of "Vathek" that "the condition appointed to man is to to be ignorant and humble." In the character of Frankenstein at war with a monster of his own creation, we have the third important picture of the hero of the romantic quest in the Gothic Romance. Vathek, with his insatiable longing for the absolute, to possess the subterranean talismans of the world; St. Leon, the benevolent Godwinian rationalist whose immortal gift though he strives to make it of some use to men is ineffectual and little appreciated; and finally Frankenstein the fearless man of science who unveils the mysteries of nature and discovers the source of life; all are possessed of a fearless curiosity, all are romantically eccentric, picturesque, emotionally heroic; all, curiously enough, achieve their desires, and in the achievement find, not happiness, not romance, not absolute bliss, but self-torture, frustration, and despair. If romanticists write so of the romantic, it would seem to be unnecessary for

others to condemn it.

By the year of "Frankenstein" (1818), however, the heyday of the Gothic Romance had long since passed. Miss Edgeworth, and Hannah More, and Miss Austen had replaced Mrs. Radcliffe in popular esteem, and the Gothic castle, the shriek of the night owl, and the curse of the mysteriously fascinating Italian villain, or the temperamental ecstasies of the dark melancholy lover began to look somewhat garish in the light of the new day. Napoleon was now a fallen eagle, with claws close clipped, and the conservative temper of reaction looked with more pleasure on the established than on the possible, preferring sensible conventions to romantic quests and impossible utopias to be had only by revolution. That there were exceptions to this temper is true, and the course of romantic poetry, though it became conservative in Wordsworth, was romantic enough in Shelley, and Byron, even though in the latter poet a tone of cynical disillusion bears witness to the conservative reaction against romantic glamour, and the insatiable quest of the emotionally Napoleonic hero. In the novel this spirit of satire and disillusion directs itself against the tale of gothic terror, and against the romantic sensibility, and emotional and imaginative excesses of its votaries. One such satire, indeed, Miss Austen's "Northanger Abbey" (1818), was so successful as to become almost the chief reason for our modern desire to know anything about the Gothic Romance at all. In the foolish fears and flights of fancy of her heroine she parodies the typical heroine of romance, poking immortal fun at her romantic quest for a mysterious secret--which turns out to be nothing but a washerwoman's laundry bill,--and by contrasting common-sense reality with romantic pretense, effectually dissipating the vapours of sentiment and false imagination that surround her. By 1816 Peacock, in "Headlong Hall," had joined the ranks of the critical novelists, pillorying the romanticists as excentrics and faddists, refusing to take their romantic

longing, their Rousseauistic enthusiasms, and their love of mediaevalism as anything deeper than fancy and caprice, fit subjects for laughter over the tea cups, and man-of-the-world jesting after dinner. Subjective, infinitely-striving romance, Gothic castles, and heroes who seek some immortal dream-like destiny are no longer in vogue. Only two other novelists write gothic tales of any importance between 1818 and 1830; and though Scott clings to romance, his is a new sort of romance, as I hope later to show, and in its way almost as conservative, almost as hostile to the dream quests and ~~ex-~~centric, infinite yearning of *Vathek*, or *St. Leon*, as "*Northanger Abbey*" itself.

The two important exceptions to the conservative tone of English fiction during the twenties were Maturin's "*Melmoth the Wanderer*" (1820), and Croly's "*Salathiel*" (1827), both novels taking for their basis the theme of the immortal person, and developing with fresh subtlety and vigor the well known legend.¹ Chas. Robert Maturin (1782-1824), an Irish novelist and dramatist, and friend of Scott and Byron, was himself a romantic person, a man of extremes, with a morbid passion for display. He was much addicted to the Radcliffe novel of terror, and wrote a series of romances.² illustrative of European historical scenes of excitement, of crusades, wicked monks, brave heroines, and mediaeval settings, though in general he avoids the Radcliffian excesses. His "*Melmoth*" was the most successful of his works, and with it Maturin renewed in England and encouraged in France, an interest in

¹ Chas. Robert Maturin (1782-1824), Irish novelist, and playwright. For an account of his life, see the anonymous *Memoir* in the preface to *Melmoth* (1792); Saintsbury's *Tales of Mystery*; *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*; and for criticisms of his work, see the historians of fiction, Raleigh, Cross, Saintsbury; and such special studies as Miss Scarborough's *The Supernatural in Modern English Fiction*, and R. N. Whiteford's *Motives in Fiction*.

² Cf. C. R. Maturin, *The Albigenses* (1824), a novel of poetical power and adventure.

the novel of romance and supernatural terror. The influence of "St. Leon" and of "The Monk" are noticeable in the story, and Maturin was steeped in the romantic literature of his day. His play "Bertram" (1813), for instance, which formed a model for Byron's "Manfred," was suggested by Schiller's "Robbers." Of his portrayal of the character of Melmoth there has been lavish praise, the editor of the 1892 edition saying that Cazotte, Goethe, Hoffmann, Byron, Calderon and even Marlowe are all inferior to Maturin in producing the sublimity and deviltry, the mingled attraction and repulsion, the naturalness and supernaturalness of the Satanic hero.¹

The theme of the story does not differ greatly from the general Wandering Jew legend. Melmoth's life is a romance of diabolism. Cursed with an immortality that will not let him die unless he can find a victim who will consent to receive the fatal gift from him, his undying quest is for such a victim. In his search he wrecks several lives, but no one even to gain the world will lose his own soul. Throughout the story the reader gets fitful glimpses of his romantic career, now as the tempter of Stanton in his cell, or of Isidora, mother to his child, and sent to death under the Inquisition; but always his evil blazing eyes betray him, and the intended victims die but do not consent; they turn to the cross, and are saved. For one hundred and fifty years Melmoth wanders, and finally, returning to the house of his ancestors, he gives young Melmoth and Monçada some glimpses of the horror, the unspeakable torment of his wild quest. Whether he is to be hurled down to hell engulfed in seas of liquid fire, or is to wander on forever, a homeless pilgrim, in search of the unattainable, Maturin leaves in romantic doubt. At the end of a night of indescribable agony and fearful shrieks that issue from Melmoth's room, the last night, perhaps, of Melmoth's wanderings, the Clock of Eternity strikes, and Melmoth disappears. Following his footsteps to the summit of a cliff, young Melmoth

¹Chas. Robt. Maturin, *Melmoth the Wanderer*, 1892 edition, p. 59.

and Monçada behold the ocean lying beneath--"the wide, waste, engulfing ocean! On a crag beneath them something hung as floating to the blast. Young Melmoth clambered down and caught it. It was the handkerchief which the Wanderer had worn about his neck the preceding night--that was the last trace of the Wanderer.

"Melmoth and Monçada exchanged looks of silent and unutterable horror, and returned slowly home."¹

Here then again, and in a style and vigor suitable to a poetic symbolism, we have a figure of the romantic quest, the Wanderer, at first urged on to the seizure of supernatural powers by an insatiable curiosity, but shattered, cut off from society, from hope, and from love by a too complete success. With this quest the secret powers of nature, of heaven, and of hell are mysteriously connected, reflecting in their grandiose colorings the shadowy drama of desire and lust in the heart of the hero. Though born at the end of the romantic movement, it is a beautiful and powerful picture of romance. Like the great fallen angel of Milton, or of Beckford in his *Prince of Eolis*, this Don Juan of Wanderers has a fallen day about him that calls to mind the remote, infinite, alluring possibilities of some Eden before the fall, but an Eden missed, ruined, lost by the unpardonable sin of excess, of immortal longing, and of a romantic quest that obeyed no limit. By his powerful imagination Maturin here establishes the legend of the Wandering Jew as a romantic force of much power in modern English fiction. With bold pictures, and a free pushing off into the realms of the supernatural world he avoids the snares of realism, and with a finely suggestive symbolism, and a pathetic dramatization of good and evil in the soul of Melmoth, he portrays a romantic allegory of the life of the poetic and enthusiastic dreamers of his time, of which in the realms of poetry Shelley and Byron afford the easily recognized type.

¹Ibid. V. III, p. 335.

The quest for absolution from the sin of cursing Christ on the Cross and for crying, "Thy blood be upon my head, and upon the head of my children, and of my children's children," is the quest of George Croly's novel "Salathiel, the Immortal" (1827).¹ For this cry Salathiel received as a rebuke from Christ the curse "Tarry Thou Till I Come," and was therefore compelled to wander until Christ's second coming. Much of his wanderings of eighteen hundred years is an account of his adventures in trying to free Jerusalem from the Romans, his failure, and his disillusion at the vanity of earthly affairs. Salathiel's presence at most of the important crises of Christian history affords Croly an opportunity for portraying the life of man as a romantic quest, a search for the absolute that ever eludes, with a suggestion at the end that in the "true science, true liberty, and true wisdom" of the modern world, that absolute may at last be at hand. The historical quest of societies is aptly suggested by Salathiel's pilgrimage.

"I stirred up the soul of Alaric," Salathiel tells us, "and led him to the sack of Rome," thus avenging the Jews against the Romans. In hatred against the city of Constantine, Salathiel assisted in the destruction of Constantinople, and similarly in the expelling of the Saracens. In the middle ages he followed the arguments of the schoolmen, and had a passion for the solutions of the alchemist, and felt the guilt and emptiness of unlawful knowledge. Winning fame in the Italian wars, he found his glory, like every other earthly thing, futile. He won wealth, but despised it. With Columbus he discovered the New World, but found that in doing so, he had only

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George Croly (1780-1860), author and divine, was best known for his romance Salathiel, The Immortal (1827). He belonged to the literary school of Byron and Moore, and in passages reminds one of DeQuincey in warmth of imagination. For an account of his life see the Memoir prefixed to Croly's Book of Job, by Frederick Croly; Richard Herring's Personal Recollections of George Croly (1861); Gent. Mag. 3rd. ser. X, pp. 104-107; Dict. Nat. Biog.

added the wealth and crimes of another hemisphere to the misery of the old. In the renaissance he too had a spiritual rebirth, and did the world some service in the arts, did homage to the mind of the liberating Luther, and the dawn of the modern spirit of scientific questioning, but to him at last all is vanity. He is a world-weary, age-weary, cursed pilgrim who has seen all things and liked very few, and has now only the desire for release, rest, absolution, death. Under the curse, however, this cannot come until Christ's reappearance on earth, and the Wandering Jew is therefore still somewhere in the world, an aimless, weary, but unresting hero of the romantic quest for death.

Compared with the romance, the depth of character and the symbolism of Melmoth the Wanderer, Salathiel is a very slight hero, his character being that of the traditionally given Wandering Jew, without subtlety or much development. The value of the novel as a link in the novels of the romantic quest is in its pictures of the historical backgrounds on which the hero moves, and in its suggestions of the universal quest of groups of societies, of nations, and of epochs for some absolute, some garden of youth, some opiate to still the insatiable desires of the heart, desires that run through all ages, and are never satisfied. Croly, unlike Beckford, and Maturin, suggests the glory of things to come compared to which things gone are but a dream, seeming thus to retain his zest for futurity, and for the romantic quest of the human spirit for satisfaction. What that satisfaction is to be, however, he does not say, and in the very vagueness of his solution, suggests that perhaps if we knew it, we should not care for it, and that our ignorance, the lure of the unknown, of futurity, is itself the most abiding and satisfying element in the spirit of the romantic quest.

In the Gothic Romance, therefore, we see the hero of the romantic

quest definitely begins, and after some hesitating experiments with the type, develops, and becomes finally in some of the best of the gothic romances the dominating character, and chief motivating force. Some four or five characters of heroic and romantic distinction appear here: Vathek, St. Leon, Frankenstein, Melmoth the Wanderer, and Salathiel the Immortal, pilgrims of the quest for some talisman that shall still the desires of the heart, and lead them to that infinite of which they dream. In the author's attitude toward his hero the attitude of the times toward these heroes is reflected. Beginning in "Vathek," Beckford reveals in his fascination with the satanic majesty of his hero, and in his emphasis on Vathek's poetic nature, and yearning for the infinite at any cost, the real romantic soul of his own interests. His judgments, however, remain perfunctorily severe, and he condemns his hero to the tortures of a romantic perdition with as good a grace as Dante himself. In Godwin's attitude toward St. Leon, however, a new attitude toward the romantic quest is apparent. St. Leon is a rebel, not against the jealous gods, but a rebel against human prejudices. The gods are to Godwin but superstitions, and the quest of St. Leon for Promethean powers is no longer "forbidden," as in "Vathek," but glorified, heroic, and highly moral. The romantic quest of Frankenstein has about it the ruin not of the author's condemnation, but of an accident of fate, of nature itself, and neither the jealous gods nor jealous men ruin his quest. To Melmoth and Salathiel the curse of God descends, and their quest is again a symbol of man at war with an implacable destiny, though here a destiny for which they were partly to blame. In general, therefore, there is evident in these stories a preoccupation with romance, with the quest for the eternal, the infinite. Vathek, St. Leon, Frankenstein, Melmoth, and Salathiel, all are the victims of a restless appetite; and whether it leads them to war on the gods, or on human prejudice, to seize the eternal

talismans of nature in a scientific laboratory, or to range through history, a restless embodiment of the time spirit, seeking satiety and release from an eternal pilgrimage, they represent in the dynamic, and eccentric spirit of their quests, the revolution in the ideals of heroism which dawned in English society with the dawn of the French Revolution. Further examples of this spirit of revolt, and infinite aspiration we shall see in other than novels of Gothic Romance, in the section dealing with the heroes whose quest was for perfectibility or the romance of the natural.

PART TWO

THE HERO OF THE ROMANTIC QUEST IN NATURALISTIC AND PERFECTIBILIAN ROLES.

More important in the development of the romantic quest than the heroes of mediaevalism and gothicism, were the revolutionary heroes of the quest who came into English fiction at about the same time, heroes whose outlook is European and international, with less of the merely English bias of preceding humanitarian, sentimental, or gothic characters. These heroes also differ from former pilgrims of the romantic quest in having a new attitude toward nature, an attitude quickly reflected in their reactions to society, and so making, in some cases, of the naturalistic hero a perfectibilian. The disadvantages of using the terms "naturalistic" and "naturalism" are only surpassed by the disadvantages of avoiding them. To refuse to designate, say, Thomas Hardy as a naturalistic writer, or to attempt to interpret Miss Austen's novels in terms of naturalism, would destroy all meaning in language. Yet to term Wordsworth, Byron, Mary Shelley, and Thomas Hardy all naturalists is, unless distinctions are drawn, scarcely less confusing. What then is a naturalistic writer? And of what sort is the naturalistic hero of the romantic quest?

Perhaps it will be easy to eliminate one kind of naturalist, the scientific naturalist, from controversy, if he is described as one who observes the world of phenomena outside himself, watches its sequences, and classifies its relationships, in order to secure control of the laws of things, with perhaps the added purpose of using them to satisfy man's needs or desires. In his "New Atlantis" (1627), Bacon describes with imaginative power the results that might come from a State so run as to learn "the knowledge of causes, and secret motions of things; and the enlarging of the bounds of humane empire to the effecting of all things

possible".¹

It is when we speak of sentimental naturalism, and this has been the chiefly influential kind in romantic poetry and fiction, that serious questions of definition arise. Obviously the term originally meant the reading of human sentiments or emotions into outer nature, what Ruskin was to term the pathetic fallacy. But if both Wordsworth and Hardy may be included under such a definition, then again distinctions are necessary. At first the sentimental naturalism that came into vogue was represented by the works of Rousseau and Wordsworth, a naturalism that found in its contact with lake and mountain, forest, flower, and sunset, and in the changes in the seasons, an endless source of emotional stimulation, educational suggestion, and even religious solace. Even more than in the outward symbolism of the world of natural objects, the heroes of Wordsworth and Rousseau found behind that world an underlying spirit or power, a beneficent essence, a supernatural being,

Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man:
A motion and a spirit, that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things.

During the latter half of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, this rapturous view of nature attained great popularity. It soon met objections, however, in its attempts to solve the problem of the relation of nature to human nature. Was man too just a piece of nature? If so, and both Rousseau and Wordsworth think his salvation lies in getting "back to nature", of what use are convention, and morality, and social checks

¹For a somewhat hostile criticism of what he terms Baconian naturalism, i.e., scientific naturalism, see Irving Babbitt, Literature and the American College (1908), Chap. 2

on our natural impulses? What of the "natural" emotions of Lovelace, of the tiger in human nature, of its animal instincts? Should those impulses be liberated too in the general movement back to nature? This problem of evil both Rousseau and Wordsworth either ignore, or else refer its causes to some scapegrace institution like the church or the state, but seldom if ever to any inherent contradiction or conflict in the nature of man himself.

That there were other elements in nature than the sentimental, beautiful, soul-nourishing qualities which Rousseau and the young Wordsworth found there, had been pointed out with realistically savage vigor by Crabbe in his poem "The Village" (1783), but this view gained little popularity until some time afterward. The notion that man is most closely allied to nature by his passions, and that he should therefore look to something besides an imitation of the animals, or the flowers, as his ideal, appeared in some minor critical novels by conservatives like Walker or Lucas, but in general the growth of a philosophy which should justify, say, Don Juan's animal excesses on naturalistic grounds, had to wait for literary expression till much later in the nineteenth century.

For the purpose of the present chapter, therefore, naturalism may be taken as scientific when so designated; and as sentimental when spoken of as embodying something of the pantheistic rapture of Wordsworth and Rousseau with their philosophical notions of a golden age in a past of primitive nature. For a still later developing type of naturalism, the more violent, passionate type, a new term, perhaps materialistic naturalism will be useful, meaning by that the view that man's relation to nature is most accurately described as being that of a victim or puppet of the forces of the outer world, or of the world of emotion. According to such a conception man is but a helpless atom in the hands of sexual and violent powers, controlled by those universal, unchangeable laws that lift the sap in the trees

and set birds to mating in them in the spring, a being whose will power or choice of goals is either predetermined by his temperament, or by accidental circumstances in the outer environment. With three such types of naturalism in mind, scientific, sentimental, and materialistic, it will perhaps be easier to discuss the effects of the varying ideas of nature on the growth of English fiction, and their role in supplying an object of desire, or a rule of life for the naturalistic heroes of the romantic quest.

THE RISE AND GROWTH OF NATURALISM IN THE FICTION OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Until the French Revolution and the rise of the romantic movement in the late eighteenth century, English fiction was hardly conscious of nature at all as being worth much study, or of the possible existence of a naturalistic hero. Mrs. Behn in "Oroonoko, or the Royal Slave" (1668), had painted a glamorously beautiful picture of noble and passionate savagery in the wilds of Africa and of Surinam, but her conception, suggestive as it is to modern readers of later romantic theories of man unspoiled by man but made noble by nature, was probably considered by its author more as the story of a royal prince, noble because of his royalty, than as a prince made noble by nature.¹ At any rate, whether Mrs. Behn intended, as Professor Cross thinks, to "contrast the state of nature with that of civilization, severely reprimanding the latter", or merely to show that royalty even in a black prince in Africa is still royalty, it would be uncritical to find in her hero the first "noble savage" in the later romantic sense from which the type developed.² Such an assertion would be uncritical because, in the first place, romantic ideas as to the nobility of nature were not prominent in Mrs. Behn's time, and again, the supposed historical descendants of Oroonoko do not all resemble him, and especially

¹For an historical account of the manner of composition, place in fiction, and influence of "Oroonoko", see Ernest Bernbaum, Mrs. Behn's Oroonoko, Kittredge Anniversary Papers (1913).

²For suggestive analogies but without historical proofs of connection of later characters in fiction with Oroonoko, see R. N. Whiteford, Motives in Fiction, (1918), pp. 64, 65. A somewhat similar hypothesis of historical development, but one for which there is as yet no proof, and perhaps none possible, is Miss Conant's that Robinson Crusoe's man Friday is an outgrowth of Oroonoko. M. P. Conant, Oriental Tale in English (1908), pp. 128-30.

not as romantic children of nature.

Eighteenth century fiction until the rise of the romantic movement affords almost no examples of naturalistic ideas, or of a naturalistic hero. One didactic oriental tale, Simon Ockley's translation from the Arabic of "The Life and Death of Hai Ebn Yokdhan" (1714), attempts to show by the life of its hero how "one may by the mere light of nature attain the knowledge of things natural and supernatural: more particularly to knowledge of God and the affairs of another life". In this tale again Miss Conant sees a possible link between "Oroonoko" (1668) and "Robinson Crusoe" (1725), though she offers the opinion merely as a surmise. At any rate, as a forerunner of the naturalistic hero of the romantic quest the story of Hai Ebn Yokdhan had a negligible effect, and may be disregarded.

How much of a notion of naturalism, or of a hero of a back-to-nature movement, was possessed by the sentimental novelists of the eighteenth century is worth some inquiry. Philosophically it may be said that deism and the empiricism of Locke and Hume were working together to the same end: deism, the belief that God was a spirit immanent in nature; and empiricism, the belief that nature and human nature, man, animal, and plant, are all swayed by a common force, and subject to the same origins, laws, and destinies. John Bunce's belief that in the heart-beat of a dog he sees the Deity at work, or that the Lisbon earthquake is an example of the Deity's power, reveal the deist's argument from design; and Sterne's extension of his feelings to include the animals, or his general test of the rightness of an act by the pleasure of the feelings it arouses, may be taken as one of the effects of the empirical reduction of everything to matters of sensation, to feeling. Putting God in nature, and then reducing nature to feeling, tended to deify feeling, and the result was the sentimentalism we have noted. Was then the hero of the sentimental novels a back-to-nature hero? In Richardson the

liberation of the emotions and the emphasis on the relations of the sexes, though ostensibly insisted on for a moral purpose, no doubt aroused feelings that later sought for their justification in some analogy in the laws of nature. But in Richardson such a justification is the cant of a villain, not a hero, a cant too in which the villain does not himself thoroughly believe. Lovelace's reference to girl as the center of gravity for spiders, flies, and men, may be taken as an example. That Fielding also regarded a character who took for his guide for conduct the "unalterable rule of right and the eternal fitness of things" as a villain, whereas the romanticists made of him a hero, is pointed out by Professor Cross.¹ In John Bunce's love of solitude and of the more horrific aspects of nature there was no doubt a slight foreshadowing of the romanticist's desire to lose himself in nature. In general, however, the sentimentalists were conscious of no such purpose. Their heroes are in love with their own feelings, and so with anything, plant or animal, that will increase their enjoyment of those feelings; but they are not yet conscious of their oneness with nature, nor do they regard natural things as a field for infinite exploration. The romantic quest for a back-to-nature Utopia they have not yet glimpsed; and the romantic justification of desires because they are "natural" is with the sentimentalists thought fit only for villainy.

To appreciate some of the influences of environment that helped effect the rise of the back-to-nature hero in English fiction, it is necessary to look at certain of the French and German novels of the eighteenth century. The sentimentality of Richardson and Sterne burned with a more romantic fire in the novels of Rousseau. His heroes, however, were not merely heroes of impassioned sentiment, using passion for

¹W. L. Cross, Development of the English Novel (1899), p. 92

a moral purpose, or merely to excite their hearts. They were children of nature, trained like his Emile, partly by a tutor, but chiefly by an idyllic contact with solitude and natural objects. Such a training is an exposition of Rousseau's theory that primitive man was innocent, domestic, gentle, and virtuous, and that only a corrupt state of society had caused man's degeneracy. Though Emile is himself a somewhat pale hero, the sweetness of his environment, and the ideas of happiness which were embodied in his life made of him a symbol of power. In "La Nouvelle Heloise" (1761) a story of love between a young girl, Julie, and her tutor, St. Preux, the impulses of the noble savage are again praised. Frustrated in his love for Julie, St. Preux feels himself burning up in a frenzy of passion. The divinity of the natural feelings, which is denied by convention, is the dominating ideal of his being. Romantic longing rises in him to the verge of insanity. After Julie's marriage, however, he accepts a position as tutor of her children, and Julie, her husband, and her lover, the unsuccessful St. Preux, live together a life of sentiment and friendship, among natural bowers unspoiled by the artifice of men. This, as Hancock points out¹, is "a compromise to some extent with the ideals of the half-savage life; yet it holds fast to the essential features of the return to nature." In St. Preux, and in Rousseau's picture of himself in his "Confessions" (1782) there are impassioned pictures of the soul alone with nature, the noble heart consumed with revery, on a quest for the infinite in solitude. The suffering caused by seeing how badly the world of fact fulfills their ideals is the cause of the world-sorrow and disillusion in the hearts of Rousseau's heroes, and for a refuge they fly to nature as to a golden age of the primitive emotions.²

¹ A. E. Hancock, The French Revolution and the English Poets (1899), pp. 25-26.

² For a further discussion of Rousseau's effect on sentimental naturalism, cf. Irving Babbitt, Rousseau and Romanticism (1919), chap. VIII.

It is noticeable that the sentimentalism in such a work as Goethe's "Sorrows of Werther" (1774), is much more closely allied with this Rousseauistic view of nature than it had been in the English novels of Richardson, Sterne, or Amory.¹ In his all-consuming passion for Charlotte, an infatuation which he prefers to gratify until it destroys him, rather than commit the to him unpardonable sin of renunciation, of curbing his élan, Werther solaces his hourly tortures by fleeing to nature. For his varying moods she has a various answer: when he is exhilarated, she too is happy; when he is depressed, she is a "devouring monster"; and finally he discovers that after all she cares nothing for him, but is indifferent, casual, and ruthlessly impervious to his emotions, a discovery that produces in him the most acute, homeless melancholy. In other words the landscape becomes a state of his soul, varying as his emotions vary, and reacting upon him as an enlarged field of sensible activity, exploration, and reaction. Though Wertherism gained popularity early among English readers, it seems not to have attained much influence in the English novel until it had run its course in Byron's heroes. In France, however, its romantic melancholy and passionate abandon, with its tendency to see life as only a quest for an all-consuming love gained enormous vogue, and is clearly noticeable in the work of Saint-Pierre.

¹The first English translation of *The Sorrows of Werther* was one by Daniel Malthus, 1779, with a second edition the next year, and a third in 1782. Other translations followed, and the story remained popular in England until the reaction against sentimentality in the early Victorian period. For an account of the popularity and translations of Goethe's novel, see J. W. Appell, *Werther und seine Zeit*, Lpz. (1865); R. G. Alford, *Goethe's Earliest Critics in England*, *Publications of the English Goethe Society* (1893), no. VII, p. 8 ff.; and Robert Withington, *The Letters of Charlotte, An Antidote to Die Leiden des Jungen Werthers*, Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America (1912), Vol. XXVII, New Series Vol. XX.

Saint-Pierre's "Paul and Virginia" (1786-1788), besides adding to Werther another hero of romantic melancholy, increased the popularity of Rousseau's ideal of the noble savage.¹ It is an idyllic story of the loves of two children of nature in a state of innocence, whose loves are destroyed and whose lives are ruined by contact with the artificial ambitions of civilization. With elaborate art Saint-Pierre depicts the beauty of their surroundings on their tropical isle, the dawning glow of love and happiness that environs them, their simple wants and joys, and the unspoiled innocence of their frank open natures; and then with poignant contrast, the destruction of this beauty, caused by the removal of Virginia to Paris for the artificial education of a lady of rank. With greater exoticism of scenery and a more minute effort to describe actual savage men who were noble, Chateaubriand at the end of the century drew the characters of Atala (1801), and Pené (1802), and intoxicated the romantic imagination with pictures of the beauty and wonder of life in the wilds of the American forests.²

The sentimental heroes of Rousseau, Goethe, Saint-Pierre, and Chateaubriand, though they partake of the excess of feeling of Richardson's characters, are not deemed good or bad because, like Pamela, they obey prudence and the marriage laws, nor because, like the heroes of Brooke or Day, they dream of social amelioration,--though this is still

¹ For a study of some French anticipations of sensibility, noble savagery, and romantic élan, cf. B. M. Woodbridge, Romantic Tendencies in the Novels of the Abbé Prevost, Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America (1911), Vol. XXVI, New Series Vol. XIX, pp. 324-333.

² For a treatment of the origins of this exotic naturalism, and of the noble savage theme, see Gilbert Chinard, L'Exotisme Américain au XVI^e Siècle (1911); and L'Amérique et le rêve exotique au XVII^e et au XVIII^e Siècle (1913); and L'Exotisme Américain dans l'œuvre de C., (1918); and Notes sur le Voyage de Chateaubriand en Amérique, Univ. of Calif. Pub. in Modern Philology, (1915), Vol. IV, No. II.

an element of their characters. Here the source of goodness is passion, not moralized, nor socialized, but naturalized. The romantic hero is no more a moral Sir Charles Grandison, but a Sir Charles whose quest is to become a noble savage. And thus the ideal hero is a world-weary pilgrim or lover whose dream of perfection is an idyllic life in the wilds of the American forest, the desert for a dwelling place, and one fair spirit for a minister. Rousseau's St. Preux, Julie, and Emile are believers in St. Preux's descriptions of the happiness of primitive man as he saw him in his travels, and their wish is to revolt from "civilized" barbarism, to a barbaric utopianism of revery, and the early age of gold. The glory of the lives of Paul and Virginia is the possibility which they reveal of a Paradisical happiness in a natural Eden, a glory painted in even more gorgeous colors by Chateaubriand in his portraits of Atala and René.

The influence of this sentimental naturalism in English poetry is immediately apparent. Wordsworth's peasants glorified by nature, and Byron's Haidee and Juan idyl, are but two of many examples of the English belief in the ennobling powers of savage nature. An echo of the cry of European writers for a back-to-nature hero has long been heard in English fiction in the speech of Bage's Hermsprong, and in the heroic conversation of Mrs. Inchbald's heroes in "Nature and Art".¹ But that a back-to-nature utopianism was at the basis of the novels and heroes of political perfectibility, and that it was of great importance in moulding the character and ideals of the new hero of the romantic quest that was rising out of the storm and stress of the French Revolution, has not as yet been developed. How the humanitarianism which we have noted as already strongly fixed in the English novel and in the English heroes of Brooke and Thomas Day, combined with the cult of nature as it returned from France in the noble savage ideals of the heroes of Rousseau and Saint-

¹ Cf. W. L. Cross, The Development of the English Novel, (1899), pp. 91-92

Pierre, and how from that combination there arose a distinctly new type of romantic hero, the perfectibilian with a back-to-nature Utopia at the basis of his thinking, it is the purpose of this chapter to show. Indeed it may be held that it was just this touch of an utopian idealism which they found in the naturalism of Rousseau's heroes that was needed to make the English humanitarians romantic. That which in the eighth decade of the century was merely humanitarian benevolence of a somewhat pedestrian nature, in the ninth had become perfectibilian benevolence of a much more romantic nature. The source of difference lay in the noble-savage ideal revealed in the lives of such heroes of nature as Emile, St. Preux, Julie, Paul and Virginia, Atala and René.

II

THE QUEST FOR NATURAL PERFECTIBILITY BY MEANS OF SOCIAL REVOLT IN THE
HEROES OF GODWIN AND HOLCROFT.

The first novelist to incorporate the individual and social implications of Rousseau's naturalism into English fiction, and to embody his doctrines of nature in heroic characters, was Thomas Holcroft.¹ Though one of the leading figures among the radicals of his day, and a popular playwright and novelist, Holcroft, perhaps because of his lack of the higher artistic qualities of the imagination, has received only passing attention from most of the historians of fiction. Saintsbury credits him with having inspired Godwin, and Cross summarizes the doctrines of "Anna St. Ives" as a convenient index of the beliefs to be found in the novels of purpose of the period. In her study of "The French Revolution and the English Novel",² Miss Gregory gives what is the most extended summary of Holcroft's novels, retelling their stories and describing their chief characters. It is not, however, her purpose to connect the heroes of these novels with preceding heroic types, nor to note, for example, the highly significant differences between the perfectibility of Holcroft's characters and the humanitarianism of, say, Brooke's "Fool of Quality". It thus becomes necessary to show what those differences are, and to point out their origins, and their importance in the evolution of the hero of the romantic quest.

¹Thomas Holcroft (1745-1809) See his Memoirs Written by Himself and Continued down to the time of His Death, From His Diary, Notes, and Other Papers, by Wm. Hazlitt (1816); Eugen Paul, Life of Wm. Godwin (1876); James Bosden, Memoirs of Mrs. Inchbald (1833); and bibliography and life in the Dictionary of National Biography.

²Allene Gregory, The French Revolution and the English Novel (1915), pp. 49-86.

It is immediately noticeable when one glances at Holcroft's novels, and at such others of the English novels of the ninth decade as were influenced by a sentimental view of nature, and of man's place in nature, that what these authors were at first interested in was not so much the Rousseauistic quest to lose the soul in reverie, or to melt into nature, an interest predominating in the English poetry of the period, as to establish some definite method by which men could abolish the things which kept them out of a state of nature. The English sense for conduct thus did with naturalism just what it had done with sentimentalism some decades earlier; it gave it an humanitarian bias. Inspired by Rousseau's idyllic heroes, and their enjoyment of liberty, fraternity, and equality, they asked themselves in a typically English way, how shall we proceed so as to return to such a golden age of nature; what, in other words, is the perfect social formula that will so regenerate society as to get men readjusted to the universe and to each other? To this grand scheme of discovering a method for the regeneration of mankind, Holcroft and his friend Godwin devoted some of the best years of their energies, and some thousands of conversations, the results of which appeared in Holcroft's "Anna St. Ives" (1792), and Godwin's "Political Justice" (1793), the former a novel in seven volumes designed to popularize the more abstract reasoning of Godwin's great work.¹

¹As a possible forerunner of the French Revolution hero of perfectibility see The Men in the Moon; or Travels into the Lunar Regions by the Man of the People, anon., (1783). In this novel the hero (Hume) who is the Man in the Moon, decides to enlighten the politician (Chas. James Fox) who is the Man of the People, by taking him on a journey to an ideal realm. In that Utopia "the foolish titles which at present prevail in Europe did not exist," nature and reason alone ruled men, and the happiness of that golden age proved to Fox that "Price, Clarke, Wollaston, and others who maintain that moral distinctions are perceived by the active energy of the intellect are right in their speculations". (Cf. Man in the Moon, Vol. II, pp. 35-39.) Fox, much impressed, decides to rid himself of the faults of ambition, self-interest, and treachery, to pursue the quest for an ideal realm, and to make over his character on the model of the rationalistic Hume. The author was "perhaps a fellow Whig with Fox, but of a more conservative temper". Cf. Allene Gregory, The French Revolution and the English Novel, pp. 121-122.

How did the perfectibilian heroes of Holcroft differ from the humanitarian heroes of Brooke, Mackenzie, and Thomas Day of the earlier decades? First in their assumptions. In the minds of the earlier heroes there is a certain pedestrian assurance that benevolence from master to dependent, and gratitude from dependent to master, will, if everywhere adopted, make human society quite ideal. Holcroft's heroes, though approving of the spirit of benevolence, are not content with so simple a formula. The class system, they contend, is all wrong: it kills benevolence. Competition is wrong: it encourages selfishness. What is the great need of mankind? The answer they found ready to hand in Rousseau and the doctrines of the French Revolutionary philosophers: break up classes, remove competition, get back to a state of nature, and make all men realize that they are brothers, all free, and all equal. Setting this dream ideal of a regenerated natural society before them, Holcroft's heroes proceeded to go in search of some talisman, some method by which they could arrive at the desired dream-ideal. This talisman they found in the rule of right reason, of natural knowledge, of innate self-contemplation which could be relied on to create the rules for Political Justice in a state of nature. Be natural, think natural thoughts, and you can depend on the world of outer nature to live up to the ideals which you thus evolve; such was the faith at the basis of the thinking of the new race of heroes, a naive faith, and one, as some of them were to discover to their sorrow, not justified by the event. The perfectibilian thus differs from the humanitarian in his differing ideal of what an Utopia should consist of, in his reliance on reason as a guide, in his belief that reason and the laws of nature are in harmony, in his quixotic disregard of morality, convention, and experience, and in the romantic abandon with which he devotes himself to the quest for the golden age of nature either for himself or for society.

The English sense for conduct, for the practical, when it met the revolutionary conception of a natural state of society, did not long remain content, like the heroes of Rousseau, with passive contemplation, with revery, and a pantheistic dissolution of the soul into nature, but adopted a program, and went on a pilgrimage to get the state of nature established in society. A naturalism of the individual was replaced by a naturalism of the group. The first, and in many ways the most complete embodiment of these ideals in the English novel is to be found in the character and history of Anna St. Ives and her lover Frank Henley.¹ In these characters we have for the first time in English fiction an important presentation of the perfectibilian dreamer whose Utopia has become not immediate or assured, but remote, elusive, and yet infinitely alluring, an Utopia to be arrived at only by following the road of reason through many a bog and swamp of error and revolution, but one in which the perfectibilian has faith, and one which so stirs his emotions, and fires his imagination as to compel him to abandon all else in the pursuit of this his master passion. The humanitarian has become romantic.

Thomas Holcroft (1745-1809) was the son of a shoe-maker, and traveling pedlar, and it was from wandering up and down the lanes of England with his father, and later from his experiences as a stable boy, and wandering player, that he got his education. In Hazlitt's "Memoirs of Thomas Holcroft", begun by Holcroft, and finished and published by Hazlitt after his death, there is a vivid account of these experiences, of the theatre as he knew it, playing with Mrs. Siddons and Elizabeth

¹Thomas Holcroft, Anna St. Ives (1792), 7 vols., now inaccessible, except for the copy in the Harvard Library. As the novel is practically unknown to-day, and as Miss Gregory's summary (see above) emphasizes other aspects of the work than those that are important to this study, I have thought it necessary to reexamine the story and its characters somewhat at length.

Inchbald, as well as of his later life in London as a playwright, novelist, friend of Godwin, Paine, Mary Wollstonecraft, and Coleridge, and notorious for a time for his indictment for high treason. His idealism he himself reveals: "The great object I have in view is not the obtaining of riches, but the power of employing my time according to the bent of my genius, in the performance of some works which shall remain when I am no more--works that will promote the general good. This is a purpose I have so strongly at heart, that I would with pleasure sacrifice ease, peace, health, and life for its accomplishment: nay, accomplish it I will, unless cut off in the midst of my labours." Though successful as a dramatist, and novelist, and as a translator from French, German, and Italian, Holcroft was not remarkable for any philanthropic work, unless marrying four times might be so considered. He had, however, a fad for dealing in expensive pictures, about which he knew but little, and the hobby ruined him, and left his family in poverty. The popularity of his greatest novel "Anna St. Ives" is attested by Hazlitt, who says "it was much read at the time, and excited considerable attention, both from the force with which it is written, and from the singularity of the characters and sentiments".¹ The fact that he was included as one of the twelve radicals to be indicted for high treason just two years after its publication is an additional indication of the effect of the work. That its popularity continued for several years would appear probable, in as much as George Walker in "The Vagabond" (1799), and Charles Lucas in "The Infernal Quixote" (1801), still thought it important enough to deserve extended satire, which they dealt it with no faint heart. Three editions in one year showed the timeliness of "The Vagabond", and by reflection, in as much as "The Vagabond" was scarcely more than a satire on "Anna St. Ives", the vogue of Holcroft's novel.

¹Wm. Hazlitt, Memoirs of Thomas Holcroft (1816), p. 128.

"Anna St. Ives" is built around three characters, Anna, the impetuous daughter of a wealthy but ineffectual baronet who wastes his time and money in romantic gardening; Frank Henley, the hero, a poor but virtuous son of the baronet's gardener; and Coke Clifton, the Lovelace of the piece. The novel is carried on by letter, but the correspondents are unimportant. The theme of the story is the quest for political justice, and the guide by which this justice is sought is the light of reason. The scene of the story is chiefly in Paris--to permit letter writing--whither Anna and her father have gone to see the sights. They are not, however, unaccompanied. Anna has insisted on Frank Henley's becoming one of the party. As he is poor, being merely the son of their gardener, Anna out of her benevolence Platonically pays his expenses. This accepting of money from the girl he loves disturbs Henley's pride, but Anna overcomes it by proving to him--very seriously--that it is his duty to afford her this opportunity for benevolence, and for him to refuse would be immoral as it would be a hurt to her virtuous endeavour. He yields, and proceeds to make himself useful. To relate the exploits of virtue which Holcroft makes his hero, Frank Henley, the romantic quester for perfectibility, perform, would be tedious were it not for their purpose in showing us the new hero. For instance, Henley on their journey to Paris shoots a highwayman who is holding up their coach. Instead, however, of having the robber jailed, he visits him, has his wound dressed, conceals him from the "blood-suckers" who would arrest and hang him for a forty pound reward, and, after giving him some of Anna's money, succeeds in reforming him. It is, he says, "the light of reason" that thus prevails. Coming on two strangers fighting a duel in the streets of Paris Henley interferes, separates them, and from pure humanitarian motives, stops the fight. As one of these strangers turns out to be Coke Clifton, and as he much resents the interference of the "low-bred" gardener's son, there is here the initial

impulse for animosity between the hero and the villain, as well as for Anna's crusade to make Clifton over in the image of Frank Henley¹

The clash of the ideals of Anna and Henley with the cynical naturalism of Clifton, is a conflict between the nineteenth century's ideal of heroism and the eighteenth century's notion of a gentlemanly rake and man of fashion. In her desire to convert the rakish Clifton and make of him "a friend of man and a true citizen of the world", Anna resolves on heroic, even romantic, methods. "With what obstinate warfare," she says, "do men encounter peril when money, base money, is their proposed reward! And shall we do less for mind, eternal, omnipotent mind?" With a shamelessness worthy of Richardson's Pamela, Anna decides to renounce Frank whom she loves, and to offer herself tentatively to Clifton, whom she does not love, but whose "genius" she foresees will, if directed into the right channels, make of him "the patriot, the legislator, the statesman, the reconciler of nations, the dispenser of truth, and the instructor of the human race; for to all these you are equal". That she will prove appealing in her sacrifice to the wicked Clifton one may judge from his ecstatic descriptions of her as the pearl of pearls, to whom the Venus de Medici is inanimate marble in comparison. Having made up her mind to subordinate her love to the purpose of securing a leader for her grand experiment in finding a way to bring about the natural

¹In Alwyn, or the Gentleman Comedian (1780), Holcroft's first novel, there is perhaps a forerunner of Frank Henley in the strolling actor, Hillkirk--obviously Holcroft himself--who loses his position by frequenting political "spouting societies". Humanitarianism is here portrayed amusingly in the character of Hordford, a man who objects to the killing of animals, and who establishes a home for homeless cats, and who finds himself a victim of society indeed. All the little cats were brought to him--Blanche, Sweetheart, and Tray. Cf. Allene Gregory, The French Revolution and the English Novel, p. 60; also Wm. Hazlitt, Memoirs of Thomas Holcroft, Vol. II, pp. 2-13.

perfectibility of society, Anna enlists Henley's aid in the scheme of trapping Clifton. After telling Henley that she can never be his because of family prejudice and her fear of her father's curse--for which, by the way, she cares not a fig--she induces him to assist her to conquer her "sensibility" toward him, and to aid her in the conversion of Clifton. To reward Henley's high-mindedness in renouncing her, "Louisa! Blame me if thou wilt!" she writes, "but I kissed him! The chastity of my thoughts defied misconstruction, and the purity of the will sanctified the extravagance of the act." Overcome by such magnanimity, "'Now let me die,' exclaimed Henley, sinking on one knee, but after a pause Anna answered, 'No, Frank! Live! Live! Live to be a blessing to the world and an honour to the human race!'" "The surprising thing about the gush of benevolence of such a scene as this is that Holcroft himself takes it seriously, finding in Anna and Henley the ideal prototypes of what the perfectibilian should be.

Emerging from this scene of silliness which has taken place in Anna's private rooms, Henley encounters Clifton, who, angry at seeing Henley coming from so confidential an interview, and noting the radiance in his face, which is "glowing with the ardour of emulating her heroism", quarrels with him, strikes him over the face with the back of his hand, and challenges him to a duel. Though Henley at first has an instinctive desire to retaliate in kind, he decides that to do so would be only a "farical heroism", and hurries from Clifton without a word. He contents himself, instead of fighting, with writing him a letter on the ethics of the duel, which, as it is typical of the quixotic humanitarianism of the Godwinian enthusiast, and of his quest for a life of impersonal abstract benevolence, I quote:

"Sir: I feel at present the humility of my situation: but not from your blow; for that has brought me to myself, not humbled me. No man can be degraded by another; it must be his own act: and you have degraded yourself, not me. My error is in having for a moment yielded to the impulse of passion. If you think I fear you, continue to think so; till I can show my forbearance is from a better motive. Cowardice might make me kill you; but true courage will teach me calmly to hear the world call me coward, rather than to commit an act so wicked, so abhorred, as that of taking or of throwing away life. I wished to seek your friendship; and even now I will not shun you. Make the world imagine me a coward; imagine me one yourself, if you can. I will live under the supposed obloquy; and leave the tenor of my life to show whether living be the act of fear or of reason. I pardon you, sir, and leave you to pardon yourself. F. Henley."

This letter, says Clifton, "produced a very uncommon effect upon me, and made me half repent, and half accuse myself of haughtiness, rashness, and insult," but his repentance takes only the form of making him reckless. In a rash wager with one of Anna's French suitors, Clifton soon after leaps from a cliff into the water, strikes against a rock, and only by Henley's jumping in after him at the imminent risk of his own life, and working over him for some hours, is he brought back to life. And so Clifton is again morally in arrears, and the redoubtable Henley, having indicated his courage and rescued his enemy, is again on top. Naturally Clifton does not therefore love Henley more, but he has to endure him.

Being assured that Anna's bank account is sound, Clifton finally proposes marriage. Her reply, in the form of a lecture on courage and the quest for the Utopia of a natural society, is, as Miss Gregory remarks, distinctly new in scenes of love. "Dare you", she replies, "receive a blow, or suffer yourself falsely to be called liar, or coward, without seeking revenge, or what honour calls satisfaction? Dare you think the servant that cleans your shoes is your equal, unless not so wise or good a man; and your superior, if wiser and better? Dare you suppose that mind has no sex, and that woman is not by nature the inferior of man?-----Dare you think that riches, rank, and power, are usurpations; and that wisdom and virtue only

can claim distinction? Dare you make it the business of your whole life to overturn these prejudices, and to promote among mankind that spirit of universal benevolence which shall render them all equals, all brothers, all stripped of their artificial and false wants, all participating in the labour requisite to produce the necessities of life, and all combining in one universal effort of mind, for the progress of knowledge, the destruction of error, and the spreading of eternal truth?"

This is gall and wormwood to Clifton, but he lays resentment aside, and assumes these virtues, with the hopes of getting her safely to church, and taking his revenge afterward. Anna accepts; Sir Arthur, her father, sends word to his gardener, Abimelech Henley, who is likewise the custodian of the family investments, to prepare 20,000 pounds for the occasion, as a "dot" for his daughter; and Frank saves the entire party from drowning as the boat is landing in England.

It is now that a rift in the lute occurs, Abimelech Henley, Frank's wordly and churlish father, has been making hay, and has by some hook or crook--the economics of Holcroft's novels is very obscure--got most of the estate in his own hands. For a marriage with his own son, Abimelech intimates, the money might be produced, but for a union with Clifton, the prospects are not so good. The reader will foresee that this situation is going to demand of Frank new sacrifices. Frank begs his father to find the money for the dowry of his mistress and his rival; but before he succeeds Anna and her father, Sir Arthur, have done some thinking. Sir Arthur begins to look more closely at Frank, finding that he is heir to a good deal of the property which he had thought was in his own name; and Anna begins to see more flaws in Clifton, has more doubts of her ability to "reform" him, and even quarrels with him as to her attentions to Frank. The quest for a leader for the perfectibilians now begins to encounter the rocks of worldly prudence, rocks for which Anna, in spite of her letters, has some regard.

Clifton's jealousy is further aroused by a new exploit of Henley's in rescuing Anna's brother--who exists for the sole purpose of letting Frank rescue him--from a wild Irishman, a gambling demon who has ruined him by winning all his money. The gambler turns out to be an accomplice of the highwayman Webb, whom Frank shot, rescued from the police, and later reformed. From Webb, now, thanks to Frank Henley, become a respectable citizen, Henley finds out how wicked the Irishman is, but, brazen as he is, Henley, by confronting him with a knowledge of his crimes, faces him down. Reason and the humanitarian method again score a victory. This added laurel of Frank's makes Clifton even more jealous--why was not he sent to the rescue? Now, too, as Clifton gradually discovers that Anna is not in love with him at all personally, that he is being only Platonically loved, and that she is really in love with Henley, he determines to play up to her reforming schemes in order to seduce her, and to get revenge for her presumption and deceit. Thus we have her pretending to be in love with him in order to convert him to perfectibility; and his pretending to be in love with her in order to be avenged on her for treating him with so rationalistic an inhumanity.

Having quarreled with Clifton, Anna feels more kindly toward Henley, as the following from one of her letters to Louisa will show:

"Clifton left me," she says, "and I went into the parlour. Frank was there. He had a book in his hand, and tears in his eyes. I never beheld a look more melancholy. Capable as he is of resisting the cowardice of self-complaint and gloom, still there are moments, I perceive, in which he can yield; and, sighing over others' woes, can cast a retrospective glance on self. He had been reading the *Julia of Rousseau*. The picture given by St. Preux of his feelings had awakened sympathy too strong to be resisted".....

"Ought you not to avoid such a book, Frank; at least for the present?"

"If it led me into error; otherwise not. I think I know what were the author's mistakes; and he not only teaches, but impresses, rivets, volumes of truth in my mind."

"The recollection of what had just passed with Clifton forced itself upon me, Louisa; it made me desirous of putting a question to Frank on the subject, and I asked,

"What is your opinion of promises?"

"I think them superfluous, nugatory, and therefore absurd."

"Without exception?"

"Yes. We cannot promise to do wrong; or, if we do, cannot perform. Neither can we, without guilt, refrain from doing right; whether we have or have not promised."

The remarkable "perspicuity of this proposition", which had not struck Anna before, and the two "fatal" remarks which Henley had made when Anna decided to give herself away to Clifton: (1) "I am certain that you act from mistaken principles," and (2) "In this belief I shall persist till the end of time," these two remarks, and the above "perspicuity" about promises, it is readily seen afford Anna excellent opportunity to escape from a penniless marriage with Clifton, and at the same time afford her a philosophy for concealing from herself that that is what she is doing.

But this is anticipating the story; and the gradual self-deceit with which Anna lets Clifton down, and the skill with which she puts him in the wrong, shielding her change of front under the guise of her inability to convert him to her radical enthusiasms, though I strongly suspect that she deceived Holcroft himself, as she did Miss Gregory, into mistaking her ^{disguise for truth,} is as pretty a piece of attenuated characterization as Richardson, with all his knowledge of the feminine heart, ever achieved. Anna's crucial conversation with Clifton, explaining his unregeneracy to him, and the superiority of his rival, her own aims, and the impossibilities he must perform in order to achieve his desire in leading her to the altar, is so unusual in the annals of love, yet so characteristic of the Godwinian and perfectibilian quest, that extended quotation may perhaps be forgiven. Indeed, were it not for her actions, which belie her

words, she is so plausible, so ardent, and so absurd, as almost to tempt the reader to take her seriously. Miss Gregory, in fact, has quite distinctly yielded to this temptation in calling "Anna's social idealism Heaven-high above the prudence of Clarissa." Though I think little of Clarissa's prudence, such a view seems to me unduly flattering. For instance, Clifton, taking Anna's "social idealism" regarding free love seriously, and wishing to put it to the proof, argues with Anna:

"All individual property is evil;
Marriage makes woman individual property;
Therefore marriage is evil."

Anna is confused: "she knew there was an answer, a just and irrefragable one, though she could not immediately find it." Henley, who is never at a loss, assists her: the whole matter, says he, is a "simple absurdity". Miss Gregory, without Anna's excuse, is also satisfied with this "superior penetration" of the smug Henley. Clifton seems to me, however, to have the better of this discussion, having reduced Anna's "social idealism" regarding marriage to the test of reality. Anna is a sentimentalist. She wants the feeling of being on a quest; she does not care for practical methods of attaining her ideal--not, that is, if they are dangerous.¹

Turning from controversy over Anna's motives, which perhaps are not greatly important, to her skilful unhooking of the lover whom she no longer finds it expedient to dangle at the end of her line, we find the following love passage. Anna and Clifton have again quarreled, this time over a song, words by Henley, music by Anna, a sentimental rendition given by Anna to

¹ For a heroine who suggests Anna St. Ives and her ideas of natural love in and out of marriage, see The Amicable Quixote, or the Enthusiasm of Friendship, anon. (1789), a serious story of a heroine who is a bluestocking on a tear, philandering in natural friendship with her butler--a disguised gentleman--and pursuing the quest of a natural love unspoiled by marriage or the conventions. Cf. Allene Gregory, The French Revolution and the English Novel, pp. 182-183.

Henley having been discovered by Clifton. He demands an explanation, and gets it in the following passage. The priggish superiority of the perfectibilian, the sublime faith in abstract reason as a guide to conduct, the faith that nature itself will reward such conduct, and the headlong absurdity or the "ardent enthusiasm" of the romantic quest for a natural society, appear clearly revealed in this lovers' quarrel. Intermingled as these things are with a feminine psychology, they take a whimsical and emotional colouring that makes one doubt whether the romantic quest is really for a perfectible society, or if perhaps perfectibility may not be merely a new and ingenious machinery for attack and defense in the art of making love. Clifton has just demanded an explanation of the incident of the song, and Anna replies, as follows.

"With respect to the song, at which you have last taken offence, its brief history is that it was written, or at least first seen by me, soon after our arrival in France. I found it on my music desk; and I dare affirm it had been left there by mistake, not design. I supposed it to be his from the handwriting; and I set it because it affected me.

"The day on which you found me singing it to him was the first on which it was ever mentioned by him to me; and then, after he had been pressed by Sir Arthur to know how he could serve him, a copy of it was begged from me as the only favour the family could bestow! He has done us many favours! Favours which we shall never have an opportunity to repay! Though my hands are impotent, ere my thoughts can be restrained from being just to his worth I must be convinced there is guilt in those thoughts.

"How to address myself now personally to you, Mr. Clifton, I scarcely know. The world perhaps would call my views extravagant, my pretensions impertinent, and my plan absurd. The world must do its will. In the progress toward truth, I have presumed to think you several steps behind me. I have proposed to myself in some sort to be your instructress. I have repeated my plan to the person whom you perhaps may consider your rival; I have required his aid, and have avowed that I think him very considerably your superior. Each and all of these may be, and I suppose are, offensive; but the proceedings of rectitude never can be dark, hidden, and insidious. When I have said all that I think of you, I should hope you will be more inclined to believe me equitable.

"There are many leading principles in which we differ; and concerning which, till we agree, to proceed to marriage would be culpable. These you were at first eager to examine; but finding the side you took not so clear and well established as you had imagined, displeased by contradiction, and in the spirit of that gallantry which you profess to

admire, being willing to appear complaisant to the female to whom you pay your addresses, you have lately declined discussion. You think, no doubt, that the lover ought to yield, and the husband to command; both of which I deny. Husband, wife, or lover, should all be under the command of reason; other commands are tyranny. Reason, and not relationship alone, can give authority.

"You think that the claims of birth to superiority are legitimate: I hold them to be usurpations. I deem society, and yourself, to be the first of claimants. Duels with you are duties, with me crimes. Suicide you allow to be generally an act of insanity, but sometimes of virtue. I affirm that no one who is not utterly useless in society, or who cannot by dying be of greater use than by living, can have a right over his own life: and the existence of such a being I doubt. You maintain that what you possess is your own: I affirm that it is the property of him who wants it the most.

"These are essential differences. Nor are these all, but perhaps they are more than sufficient to end the alliance we were seeking.

"Not that I desire to end it. Far, far the reverse! You, Mr. Clifton, are so highly gifted, so distinguished in the rank of intellect, and have a mind of such potency, that to behold its powers employed in the cause of truth, to be myself instrumental in a work so worthy, and afterward to become the fast and dearest friend of such a mind, is a pregression so delightful, so seducing, that for a time I laboured to persuade myself of its possibility.

"These hopes begin to fade; and, did you know how much this circumstance afflicts me, you would at least absolve me from all charge of indifference.

"Habits and prejudices which are sanctioned by the general practice, and even by numbers who are in many respects eminently wise and virtuous, are too stubborn to be overcome by the impotent arguments of a young female; with whom men are much more prone to trifle, toy, and divert themselves, than to enquire into practical and abstract truth. In the storm of the passions, a voice so weak would not be heard.

"That all these impediments should be removed I begin to believe but little probable; and, till they are removed, as we are we must remain.

"The obstacles to marriage are indeed so numerous that I perceive calculation to be very much in favour of celibacy: I mean respecting myself. I ask not riches; but of wealth of mind my expectations by some would be called extravagant. yet lower these expectations I cannot; for that would be to relax in principle."¹

¹ Thomas Holcroft, Anna St. Ives (1792), Bk. IV, pp. 224-232.

The outcome of the story is Richardsonian, though with a difference.

Clifton kidnaps both Anna and Henley and keeps them in solitary seclusion for nine days. In an attempted seduction, Clifton is foiled by Anna's purity, by her "sheer force of mind and spirit." He finds that he cannot go on with his revenge; he is beaten. At the end of nine days, Henley escapes, and in a general fight between the kidnappers and himself, and with the aid of Clifton, who has at last come to his senses, Anna is rescued, and Clifton severely wounded by one of his own hired kidnappers. He thinks somewhat of suicide, partly from anger, and partly from self-loathing; but here, as always, Frank and Anna are at hand to forgive and to dissuade him.

"Of what have you been guilty," Frank asks him. "Why of ignorance, mistakes of the understanding, false views, which you wanted knowledge enough, truth enough to correct.....Banish then these black pictures from your mind, by which it continues darkened and misled; and in their stead behold a soul-inspiring prospect of all that is great and glorious rising to your view! Feel yourself a man! Nay you shall feel it in your own despite! A man capable of high and noble actions!"

And so with a marriage and a reformation the novel ends. Probably Clifton will never become the "liberator of mankind" that Anna in her ardent days foretold, but we may rest assured that Anna St.Ives and Frank Henley will never abandon the quest. They will, to be sure, join no churches, found no societies, enlist in no armies or Red Cross organizations,--I am afraid that Frank was a conscientious objector--nor will they sign any leases--promises not being binding--but they will pursue the quest, and in following the light of reason, always being sure to so reason that the light will not lead them where they do not wish to be led, they will press on to perfectibility.

In review, then, what may be said to be the characteristics of the quest on which these two enthusiasts engage, the platform, which by the rules

or reason Anna St. Ives and Frank Henley arrive at for the creation of a natural society? Its planks may be summarized as follows:¹ Everything in which governments interfere is spoiled; you and your servant are equal; property belongs to him who wants (needs) it most; promises are not binding; marriages should be dissolved at will; no nationalism, above all nations is humanity; down with priests, princes, legislators, justices, and jailors; minimum working hours which shall give leisure for tracing moral and physical cause and effect, all amusements being rational; the substitution of universal benevolence for the law of competitive bargains; and, a determination to win back the patriarch's length of life and learn the secret of immortality. The heroism and romance that might be attained by acting on these principles Holcroft attempted to demonstrate by embodying the ideals in a hero and heroine. Questing brightly toward utopia, sure of her method, ardent in aspiration, and trusting in the rules of reason and laws of nature to enable her to make leaders of men and a Paradise of society, where, in fact, does Anna arrive?

Miss Gregory, though granting that Anna and Frank are quixotic, is in general sympathetic in her treatment of their endeavours, remarking that they win the respect of their keenest opponent, that their ideal is service and the removal of men's prejudices and ignorance, and that Anna's motives are "heaven high above the prudence of Clarissa Harlowe's." With such an interpretation of Anna's character I find it difficult to agree. Anna's words and acts are susceptible to less charitable comment, but comment which should be useful in clearing away the mist of sham heroics and sentiment with which she chose to surround herself. Indeed the skill with which Anna conceals her real motives, perhaps even from herself, as well as from her author, and Miss Gregory, is astonishing. The subtlety of her quest has not been suspected, unless it was by Clifton. In judging her career, I find it difficult to escape from Clifton's interpretation of her as wilful, proud, and hypocritical,

¹Cf. W. L. Cross, Development of the English Novel (1899), pp. 83-89.

though she always puts her wilfullness, pride, and hypocrisy into the nicest terms of the then current radical cant. One suspects that she is going to marry Clifton instead of Henley because he comes from a better family and station in life; he is a Don Juan, and she sees more excitement in prospect with him than with the somewhat wishy-washy Joseph Andrews, Frank Henley; she is too polygamous to devote herself to only one of her lovers at a time until she has to do so, but being what the pre-war Germans were wont to call "British," she can't admit, even to herself, that she acts from such "low" motives, and so, as a sentimentalist, she erects "conversion" of Clifton, and "martyrdom" of herself as a stalking horse; and finally, she has an eye to prudence, but here too she dislikes admitting it, and pretends, like most sentimentalists, to despise financial considerations. She talks liberally; she acts prudently. Though questing toward a new society, Anna is unwilling when it comes to the pinch to commit herself to any of the doctrines which she preaches. She becomes a careful property custodian, her socialism being but "parlour" socialism; when Clifton offers her the rights of marriage without the ceremony she withdraws in horror, though she has devoted many hours to proving that "property" in wives is pernicious, and that children should belong to the state, and love be free; and when Henley decides to go to America and become a "natural" man with the noble savages there, she finds her ideas¹ tenaciously conventional; she refuses to let him go, and marries him.

And so with Anna St. Ives the quest for perfectibility breaks down. Her endeavour to live by the rule of reason alone, her faith that the world itself will best respond to a life so lived, and that her natural simplicity and sensibility will make even the wicked Clifton as harmless as a dove

¹For another example of a novel dealing with the vices of authority in church and state, and the virtues of the French Revolutionary quest for natural equality, see Hermon of Unna: a Series of Adventures of the Fifteenth Century (1794), by Professor Kramer.

and as useful as an emancipator, carries her into a series of romantic adventures and absurdities. Her defense from disillusion is that she has no taste for reality, and in consequence does not know when she is beaten.

Two other novels of Holaroft, "Hugh Trevor" (1794), 4 volumes, written as a sequel to "Anna St.Ives," and "Brian Perdue," (1805), reveal heroes who carried on the crusade against the corruption of institutions, and favoring the anarchical disruption of Godwinian individualism and pure reason. Hugh Trevor is an egoist who early in his career embraces the inspirations of the Methodists, --"The sophisms of Aristotle were exchanged for the justification-by-faith of Saint Paul,"--but he soon loses faith in this form of religion. Ambition then leads him into the corrupt employ of the Earl of Idford, who for political reasons only, pretends to be a liberal. Trevor writes the Earl's letters for him, and even goes so far in vice as to write an article for the Earl's friend the Bishop of----, defending the thirty-nine articles; but his "reason" revolts against this ghastly sin, and he leaves the Earl's employ. The Earl and Bishop in retaliation prevent his getting his degree at Oxford, and he attacks them both, but to no purpose. He then enters the law, but abandons it as "corrupt;" gets into Parliament, but won't vote as a party man, and has to withdraw; is arrested for debt, but receives a legacy, gets released from prison, marries a young lady interested in radicalism, and lives happily ever afterward.

Here then again we see the quester, dissatisfied, urged by inner revolt to seek some ultimate good. Methodism, the established church, government, the law --appeals to the imagination and to the love of order-- one after another fail to appease the inner demand. The book ends abruptly, but the system of "individual" reason as in "Anna St.Ives" is the hero's guide, the good of society his end, and the elimination of the established, of rich and poor, of priests and kings, the desired means. Meanwhile the hero ac-

cepts his legacy and a wife. As in "Anna St. Ives" the hero and heroine are "theoretical" radicals; but practically they live in society, and enjoy the fruits of the order which they attack.

In "The Memoirs of Brian Perdue" (1805), Holcroft uses the theme of the good man accused of crime, the virtuous outlaw. Again the law's crude machinery is attacked, the accused criminal's virtues stressed, his attacks on society being for societies' own sake, and therefore virtuous. Brian Perdue is Holcroft himself, the "acquitted felon," as he was unjustly called, and the moral of the hero broken on the wheel of the law continues the theme of the other novels. The outlaw who attacks society to heal it from bourgeois complacency and corruption, a theme made popular in Schiller's "Robbers" translated into English in 1792, we shall see more of in novels of greater weight than "Brian Perdue."

Turning now from Holcroft's novels to those of the other great exemplar of Rousseauistic radicalism, a disciple of "natural reason," we see in Godwin's novels, much of the same inattention, at least at first, to the restoration of the individual by reverie with nature, and much more attention to his struggles to get free from an artificial society that keeps him away from nature. The same "mental set" is in Godwin's mind as was in Holcroft's, the "set" of deducing everything by reason from an original state of nature, and then of rushing headlong on to the establishment of the Utopia thus deduced. It is regrettable that in her comparison of Godwin with Holcroft, Miss Gregory is led into misquoting Holcroft's opinion of Godwin's "Political Justice," and because of this error, into an attempt to see differences between the philosophies of Godwin and Holcroft that do not exist. She remarks:¹

¹ Allene Gregory, The French Revolution and the English Novel (1915), p. 84.

"Again, we have Holcroft's own comment on 'Political Justice,' that the book was written with good intentions, but to be sure, nothing could be so foolish," a statement which she refers to Paul's "Wm. Godwin," V. I, p. 116. If it were true that Holcroft made such a comment on "Political Justice," especially after his having been, as Miss Gregory admits, partly responsible for the formation of its opinions, it would, indeed, be startling. But turning to the passage in Paul's "Wm. Godwin," we find Godwin saying, "Horne Tooke tells me that my book is a bad book, and will do a great deal of harm---Holcroft and Jardine had previously informed me, the first, that he said the book was written with very good intentions, but to be sure nothing could be so foolish; the second, that Holcroft and I had our heads full of plays and novels, and then thought ourselves philosophers." Holcroft and Jardine were merely repeating to Godwin what Horne Tooke had said about "Political Justice," and were neither of them speaking for themselves. And indeed, in her next chapter, on Wm. Godwin,¹ Miss Gregory so quotes and interprets the passage. The deduction which she makes from this misinterpretation is that Godwin was theoretical, impractical, and a sentimentalist, whereas Holcroft was a practical social scientist, experienced in the ways of the world, and not a sentimentalist. It is hard to see just why Godwin should be indicted, and Holcroft, the portrayer of Anna St. Ives allowed to go free. Both were ardent perfectionists, both impractical, and both preferred the excitement and sensibility of the romantic quest for a natural society, to a plain common sense consideration of reality and its possibilities.²

¹ Ibid. p. 90.

²Wm. Godwin(1756-1836). For biographical sources see, Kegan Paul's Wm. Godwin. His Friends and Contemporaries(1876); Dowden's Life of Shelley(1886); Talfourd's Memorials of Chas. Lamb; Wm. Hazlitt's Spirit of the Age; The Gentleman's Magazine(1836), I, 666-70; Mrs. Julian Marshall's Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley(1890); Holcroft's Memoirs(1816); Booden's Memoirs of Elizabeth Inchbald(1833); Dictionary of National Biography.

For works about Godwin and his novels, see, A. Gregory, The French Revolution and the English Novel(1915); H.N.Brailsford, Shelley, Godwin, and Their Circle; Leslie Stephen, Studies of a Biographer(1899-1902)V.III; B. Sprague Allen, Wm. Godwin as a Sentimentalist, Mod. Lang. Pub. (1918), V. XXXIII.

Because of his fame as a philosopher, Godwin is often given credit¹ for incorporating the social treatise into fiction. Much of the credit--if it is credit--for this really belongs to Holcroft, who published his "Anna St. Ives" some two years before Godwin published "Caleb Williams". What is important for the purposes of this study is that Holcroft and Godwin also incorporated the social treatise into character, and thus gave a more general and dynamic motivation to heroism than they could otherwise have done. It is the philosophical and social drive of a revolutionary quest for perfectibility that makes Frank Henley a romantic hero, whereas the merely personal benevolence of Brooke's hero could not give him the qualities which would make his sentimentality romantic. This effect of a wider social quest in elevating and energizing character is little noted in the discussions of Godwin's novels. Miss Gregory² divines the formula on which Godwin's plots are constructed, but she does not note the romantic element of the quest which seems to me to dominate the characters from which the plots spring. Leslie Stephen in his "Studies of a Biographer", gaily summarizes Godwin's first three novels, and describes his characters, but he too draws few philosophical parallels, and fails to discover the spirit of striving and of romantic quest that animates their lives. Brailsford's "Shelley, Godwin, and Their Circle" gives an able discussion of the political and social background of the novels, but it says little of characters, or of heroic types. So far, therefore, there has been little attempt to relate Godwin's characters to the general ideas for which he was famous, to show the romanticizing effect of those ideas on his characters, or to find the animating and unifying principle of their lives in their relation to any large typical figure, symbolical of the age, such as the hero of the romantic quest.

¹Cf. W. L. Cross, The Development of the English Novel (1899), p. 93.

²Allene Gregory, The French Revolution and the English Novel, (1915), p. 115.

"Political Justice" being out of the way, Godwin turned to the novel to assist Holcroft in his task of making the new freedom popular. The results he incorporated in three novels: "Caleb Williams," 1794, containing extended attacks on justices and jailers; "St. Leon," 1799, which attacks priests and their religious superstitions; and "Fleetwood, or the New Man of Feeling," 1805, which attacks "society" and child labor. Though like Holcroft Godwin is interested in the quest for perfectibility, he is more interested than Holcroft in the agencies that hinder and corrupt it. In "Anna St. Ives", for instance, the villain was personal, and though Anna and Henley did a good deal of railing against property, marriage, the church, and the law, this was only the shadowy background for the bright picture of Anna's benevolence and her ardent quest for political justice in the abstract. Anna's quest never took her to jail; and in Holcroft the villain of organized society remains only an abstraction. Godwin portrays the perfectibilian too, but his hero is the perfectibilian under a curse. And the curse is Holcroft's passive abstraction, organized society, here made concrete, active, and malignant. Godwin's heroes are good men betrayed by some flaw in their own natures or by an evil environment into the hands of the law or the church. Benevolence is private, wickedness chiefly public; the heart enlightens, but the institution corrupts: such is the formula. Holcroft's theme was the quest for perfectibility: Godwin's is the struggle for perfectibility.

In thus pitting the perfectibilian against the villainous institutions of society, and making it a real fight, Godwin shifts the interest from the doctrine to the hero. Holcroft's heroes were idealistic young persons questing forth in search of their first bright dreams: Godwin's are elderly Laocoons, at grips with real serpents. Holcroft's heroes were too good to be true, that is, goody-goody; Godwin's have plenty of flaws in their armor, but though cursed are still heroic. It is evident that the struggles which

Holcroft and Godwin themselves endured, and the opprobrium which society heaped upon their well meaning efforts to uplift mankind, find expression in these more or less heroic conquests, and in the curses which society hurled at St. Leon's benevolence.

Before discussing the heroes of these novels in detail, it is well to keep in mind the general formula on which they are constructed: given a hero, that is, a perfectibilian, a weakness, and a temptation, let him succumb, and study the resultant struggles in a world of wicked institutions and conventions. The machinery of temptation for this kind of hero is neatly summarized by Miss Gregory, as follows:

"The type-hero puts an end to his own possibility of happiness by some crime or act of folly, concerning which he moralizes morbidly, but into which he is forced, apparently by his own nature, when circumstances present the occasion. The remainder of his life is involved in the consequences, external and internal. The nature of this dominant characteristic and the resultant act (temptation) varies. It is Falkland's obsession of "honour" and his murder of Tyrrel; Williams's curiosity and his prying into the chest; St. Leon's desire for wealth and his acceptance of the stone and elixir; Fleetwood's desire to monopolize the entire attention of his young wife and his yielding to jealousy."

That Godwin's heroes are nothing but heroes of the romantic quest, that is, merely perfectibilians, is perhaps too inclusive an assertion. Psychologically Caleb Williams, Falkland, St. Leon, and Fleetwood are all one person, i. e., Godwin himself, the only differences being that, like one star in several plays, they perform in different costumes, settings, and adventures. Godwin, in other words, writes his novels in the first person, because, as he admitted, he could not write ⁱⁿ any other way. Like Byron, he called his heroes by different names, Childe Harold, Don Juan, but as Byron's heroes are Byronic, so with Godwin, all are Godwinian. In type and in theory, then, all are like Godwin, in the main, perfectibilians, but in the reality of the stories they are often motivated somewhat by other interests: by the desire to escape the curse, by the search for happiness, or by remorse. The quest

for the dream ideal gets lost in the complexity of the stories, and in the struggle of the hero to free himself from the coils of interfering conventions and institutions.

The plots of Godwin's novels are simple. In "Caleb Williams" Falkland, the hero, wealthy, benevolent, virtuous, enthusiastic, handsome, has one weakness, --his romantic passion, an inordinate love of honour. This honour is gradually sullied by the brutal arrogance of a neighboring squire, Tyrrel, until finally Tyrrel, jealous to the point of frenzy of Falkland's virtues, without cause publicly and brutally whips him. Falkland, who is a little man physically, follows Tyrrel, and in passionate anger kills him secretly. Two innocent men, ejected tenants of Tyrrel's are suspected, tried, sentenced, and hung, Falkland saying nothing to save them. Falkland escapes suspicion, and saves his "honour," only to become a prey to life-long remorse. After a time, Falkland employs the young Caleb Williams as his secretary. Williams is a good lad, handsome, honest, clever, and willing, but he too has one vice, his romantic passion, curiosity. He cannot rest until he finds out what is wrong with Falkland. Why has he changed so? What causes his remorse, his fits of anguish? He investigates; he watches Falkland sleeplessly. Finally, as he is prying into a secret chest of Falkland's, Falkland catches him, and, thrown off his guard, confesses everything. But now that his curiosity is satisfied, Falkland tells Williams that he can never permit him to leave his employ with such a secret, and that if he attempts it, vengeance will follow. Williams attempts it, and vengeance follows. Falkland has him arrested for theft. Williams, who is of course innocent, after six months in jail without a trial, escapes, and joins a band of benevolent robbers, who are at war with society for noble reasons. Finally he is recaptured, held a little longer, and dismissed without trial. He has by this time become notorious

as a felon, thanks to a highly colored account of him which Falkland has had printed, with an offer of 100 guineas reward for his apprehension, and now though he is "free," he finds that he is still pursued by Falkland's malice. Wherever he goes, Falkland's agent comes and distributes a few of the old pamphlets which Falkland has had printed against him, and Williams loses all his friends. After a few years of such persecution, in sheer desperation, he publically accuses Falkland of murder. On seeing Falkland, who even now he cannot bring himself to hate, in court, and noting how worn and broken he is, remorse and the prospective loss of his "honour" having crushed him, Williams' heart fails him; he breaks down, falsely confesses himself a liar, and prepares to return to jail. This magnanimity, however, is too great for even Falkland. He too breaks down, forgets his "honour," and confesses ~~to~~ the murder. Three days later he dies of a broken heart. Williams lives, but is eaten up with remorse, feeling that he has been his master's murderer. "A nobler spirit never lived among the sons of men," he remarks, but of what use are talents and sentiments in the corrupt wilderness of human society?" Godwin's theories come out chiefly in his exposure of the law as the mere creature of the rich, in his revelations of England's bastiles and their disgraceful treatment of prisoners, and in his praise of the band of benevolent robbers,--an episode modeled on Schiller's "Robbers." The chief interest of the story is the war between Williams and Falkland, romantic honour versus romantic curiosity, and the excitements attending on Williams' discovery, his flight, and on Falkland's pursuit. The hunted gives up his secret, only to become the hunter. As a detective story, rich in psychological interest, and in suspense, it has few equals. But obviously the story runs away with the moral. The excitement of the chase is so great, that as Walter Raleigh remarks, "the professed moral is as irrelevant as a philosopher in a hunting field."

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In the history of the hero of the romantic quest, however, the moral has some interest. Here for the first time we have the perfectibilian as a hero-villain really at war with society in the robber captain, Raymond; and the hero as murderer in Falkland, the perfectibilian-who-might-have-been, had not a false system of chivalric honour, and a wicked system of class laws, and jails, betrayed him. In Falkland we have a high-minded humanitarian theorist in the role of a Satanic Javert, and worse than that, enabled to keep his wickedness concealed by the subservency of the "crushed classes at the hands of a besotted squirearchy and magistracy". The necessity for the revolt of a hero against society is further developed by the robber captain, Raymond, who describes his followers as "thieves without license who are at open war with another set of men who are thieves according to law. With such a cause to bear us out, shall we stain it with cruelty, malice, and revenge? No, our profession is the profession of justice.....Since by the partial administration of our laws, innocence, when power is armed against it, has nothing better to hope for than guilt, what man of true courage will fail to set those laws at defiance, and if he must suffer from their injustice, at least take care that he has first shown his contempt for their yoke."¹ And a little later on, when one of the robbers offers to give up Williams for a reward, we get the true temper of the new heroes of revolt, who quest against the bourgeoisie for their own good, in the retort of the other more idealistic robbers: "Betray him! No, not for worlds! He is safe. We will protect him at hazard of our lives! If fidelity and honour be banished from among thieves, where shall they find refuge upon the face of the earth?" Godwin's notions of thieves, he tells us, he got from "the 'Newgate Calendar' and 'The Lives of the Pirates'".

¹William Godwin, Caleb Williams (1794), V. III, chap. II.

"Caleb Williams, or Things as They Are", then, is a victim-of-society novel. Like the later novels of Reade and Dickens it attacks the justice of courts of justice, cries out against their abuses, and treats crime and criminals sentimentally. One of the first novels of psychological analysis, and one of the first with the criminal as hero, it is a link in the chain of anti-heroes, such as the later developed Gothic devils, nihilists, supermen, and insane idealists who are urged by an insatiable egotism to the destruction of society. Only here in Falkland the murderer, and Raymond the robber captain, though at war with society, the idealist is a perfectibilian, so sentimentalized and gentle as to seem harmless, or if a robber, excused because his traffic is in the service of mankind. And here as in the novels of Holcroft, there is in the background of the heroes' minds the feeling that things naturally done are rightly done, and that perfectibility can only come by means of the elimination of institutions and the pursuit of a back-to-nature individualism.

III.

PERFECTIBILITY IN THE NOBLE SAVAGES OF ELIZABETH INCHBALD AND ROBERT BAGE.

From the years 1794 to 1797 the popularity of Holcroft's "Anna St. Ives" and Godwin's "Caleb Williams" was in the ascendancy. Though to be sure, the storm clouds were gathering, and Burke had for a long time been thundering to a country gradually growing less heedless of his warnings, yet in the calm before the storm of war, the revolutionists had their hour or two of fame. Into such a calm, swept forward by the enthusiasms engendered by Holcroft and Godwin, Elizabeth Inchbald and Robert Bage in 1796 launched two novels that carry on the traditional doctrines, and do something more than had been done in English fiction to draw a portrait of the noble savage hero himself. The natural ideal we have said was in the background of Holcroft's and Godwin's dream of perfectibility. Anna St. Ives and Raymond, the robber captain, or Caleb Williams greatly admire such a dream ideal; they do, indeed, try to revise society so as to conform to it; but in these new novels there is more of an attempt to envisage a hero in such a state, to note his amusements, portray his ideals, and glorify the romantic quest in which he engages. Anna St. Ives praised the natural state; but Bage's Hermsprong springs straight out of it.

In her novel "Nature and Art" (1796), written shortly after she had read with enthusiasm Godwin's "Caleb Williams", Elizabeth Inchbald¹ wrote a story of the good deeds of a youth actually trained by nature. Though Mrs. Inchbald's novels are still moderately interesting, historians usually dis-

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Elizabeth Inchbald, novelist, dramatist, and actress, and friend of Godwin and Holcroft and their school. See James Boaler, Memoirs of Elizabeth Inchbald (1833).

miss them with a phrase or two. Cross¹ calls "Nature and Art" a victim of society novel, and Saintsbury² speaks of her style and decadent charm, and says that "she falls out of the main (realistic) line of development, merely exemplifying the revolutionary and sentimental episode". Miss Gregory discusses the revolutionary tendencies of Mrs. Inchbald's novels more at length, but the relation of her heroes to the perfectibilian and back-to-nature hero of the romantic quest remains to be pointed out. "Nature and Art", as is shown by its title, is the story of the conflict of the natural hero with the man of custom, society, and art - that is of artifice. The characters that are presented as examples of Nature and Art are two brothers, Henry and William Jr. The two Henrys are natural and therefore noble perfectibilians, and the two Williams are civilized, and therefore selfish and unscrupulous. Starting in poverty to make their way in London, Henry and William, despite William's Oxford training, find it difficult to live. Finally, however, Henry bethinks him of his violin, which he plays acceptably. With that, since the rich enjoy music and dancing but not learning, Henry earns money and favor. This enables him to assist his unsuccessful but learned, and be it said churlish, brother William to a judgeship. Soon afterwards Henry is snubbed and dismissed by William and his purse-proud wife as "only a violinist". Cut to the heart, Henry departs to dwell in the wilds of Africa among the noble savages to be found there. William, though a husband and father, comes finally in the course of his judgeship, to the point where he hangs for counterfeiting a woman he has himself seduced. About the same time Henry sends his son, Henry Jr., a child of nature straight from the wilds, back

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W. L. Cross, The Development of the English Novel (1899), pp. 87, 88, 91.

2

George Saintsbury, The English Novel (1913), p. 171

from Africa to complete his education in England. How little England had to teach him is the moral of the tale, inasmuch as his "natural" training had done so well by him, that "he would call compliments, lies; reserve, he would call pride; stateliness, affectation; and for the words war, and battle, he constantly substituted the word massacre".¹ As a dramatic example of nature versus art, Henry Jr. immediately after the trial of the mistress of his Uncle William, shows his superiority over his uncle, the judge, by rescuing his illegitimate child from the misery which hanging its mother has brought to it. After becoming a contented and prosperous farmer, Henry Jr. sends for his father and rescues him from the noble savagery of his life in Africa. The injustice of courts of justice, and the noble nature of the unsophisticated heart of the natural man are here her themes. In her novel "A Simple Story" (1791), a tale of a priest's renunciation of his vows for a woman who later proved unfaithful to him, his resulting hermit life, and the final melting of his heart, Mrs. Inchbald had she says, found Mr. Holcroft "of great assistance". Obviously her reading in 1792 of Holcroft's "Anna St. Ives", and Mrs. Radcliffe's "Romance of the Forest", as well as her interest in Godwin and his theories and novels, largely determined her views of the social machinery of her time. In her somewhat more definite attention to a hero just stepped out of a state of nature, however, she places the emphasis on the superiority of a training in the wilds of Africa to that received in the corrupt law courts of civilized society. Given a hero of natural benevolence, and

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Inchbald, Nature and Art (1796), Chap. XIV.

perfectibility will be a simple matter: such is the moral.¹

This turning of the attention away from the struggle for natural perfectibility to the painting of a hero whose natural charm and heroism would of itself enchant men to imitation is an even more prominent element in Robert Bage's "Hermesprong, or Man as He Is Not" (1796).² The historians of fiction often dismiss Bage's novels with what is perhaps too slight attention, though Scott included him in his Ballantyne Novelist's Library, and gave him considerate praise in his preface.³ Cross remarks that Bage in Hermesprong made a hero out of Fielding's villain Mr. Square, who was also a stickler for the eternal fitness of things;⁴ and Saintsbury says that Hermesprong is a "kind of Sir Charles Grandison Rights-of-Mannified . . . and a great bore".⁵ In "The French Revolution and the English Novel", Miss Gregory discusses Bage's novels as an index to his opinions, and finds that he was a tolerant and practical reformer, no revolutionist, like Godwin and

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For an account of a naturalistic utopia where the relations of the sexes is the chief interest, and where an empire is described that grants women equal rights with men, free love, and no taboos on sex or nakedness, see James Lawrence's The Empire of the Nairs, or the Rights of Women, an Utopian Romance in Twelve Books (1798?-1800). Miss Gregory considers this a "satiric" novel, directed at Godwin and Rousseau's ideals of natural society; and it is true that unless it is satiric, its silliness is so great as to appear almost incredible. However, the novel does not seem to me to have a satiric purpose. Rather I believe it is a seriously intending effort to eliminate the moral taboos of English domesticity, and show the beauty and joy of the natural passions in a state of nature, free from the hindering conventions of the clothed races.

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Robert Bage (1728-1801), paper manufacturer and novelist. See Ballantyne's Novelist's Library ed. by Sir Walter Scott; Chalmers' Biographical Dictionary; British Novelists ed. by Mrs. Barbauld; the introductions to Bage's various works; and Kegan Paul's William Godwin (1876)

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Cf. Sir Walter Scott, The Lives of the Novelists (1821).

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W. L. Cross, The Development of the English Novel (1899), p. 92.

5

George Saintsbury, The English Novel (1913), p. 165.

Holcroft, but a middle-of-the-road progressive. Such a view runs somewhat counter to general opinion from Scott until today, and the evidence to me seems to be against this milder view. A paper manufacturer with a good self-acquired education in Latin, French, Italian, and mathematics, a friend and partner in business with Dr. Erasmus Darwin, Bage turned at the age of fifty-three to novel writing, partly to recoup himself from business losses, and partly to make popular his own revolutionary philosophy. He thus wrote six novels which acquired great vogue in their time, and were translated into German. In 1797 Godwin paid him a visit at Tamworth reporting him to be a person who had conquered many prejudices, read little metaphysics, and was a materialist, his favorite reading being the "System de la Nature". In the next century, Scott though including him in his Ballantyne Novelists, thinks it his duty to criticise his views as unsound in religion, ethics, politics, and economics, and to suggest that "his opinions of state affairs were a little biased by frequent visits of the excisemen who levied taxes on his commodities for the purpose of maintaining a war which he disapproved of. It is most natural that a person who considered tax gatherers extortioners, and soldiers who were paid by the taxes as licensed murderers, should conceive the whole existing state of human affairs to be wrong, and . . . to fancy that he was called upon to put it to rights."¹

Bage's first two novels "Mount Henneth" (1781) and "Barham Downs" (1784) are named for places, and take for their themes the portrayal of a kind of Pre-Coleridgian Pantisocracy, or state of life where wealthy and learned merchants retire to an ideal existence of a few hours' work in the morning, and for the rest, enjoy a benevolent solitude well supplied with money, friends and romantic scenery. "James Wallace" (1788), his third novel, centers round

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Sir Walter Scott, Robert Bage, The Lives of the Novelists, (1821).

an over-benevolent lawyer who is ruined by too great a trust in human nature. Becoming a servant, Wallace falls in love with his mistress, but leaves her to avoid scandal. Winning fame in a sea fight, and coming into an inheritance, he returns, after romantic wanderings, to marry his former mistress and be happy. In "Man as He Is" (1792) Bage wrote a novel that was a sort of prologue to his last work, showing us a hero of fortune, noble feelings, and with a turn for philosophy who cannot resist the temptations of fortune, mistresses, and dissipation. His tutor, a man of high principles and cultivation, and his love for a nice girl who is severe on his moral laxity, finally rescue him from Parisian society, and get him domesticated in a more natural and therefore more pure retreat in England.

"Hermesprong, or Man as He Is Not" (1796), was Bage's last and best novel. Here we have as the hero a bluff, hearty, but mysterious stranger, whose first appearance in the story shows him rescuing two beautiful girls from going over a cliff in a runaway. "I was born a savage among the aborigines of America", he tells them, though adding that he has since spent six years learning "to dance and make a bow in France". So fascinating a combination of savagery and culture one of the girls, Miss Campinet, Lord Grondale's daughter, finds irresistible, though her father considers the hero's bluff natural manner far from pleasing. The resulting conflict between Lord Grondale (man as he is) and Hermesprong (man as he is not, but as he should be), a conflict modeled perhaps on the strife between Falkland and the brutal squire Tyrrel in "Caleb Williams", results in what Bage would consider typical acts on both sides. Lord Grondale, using the courts as his servants, trumps up charges against Hermesprong, alleging that he is a French spy, has given money to a mob, has seduced his daughter's affections unlawfully, and has thrown a rival suitor, and a Lord at that, over a fence.

Hernsprong proves his innocence, and countermines Grondale by proving that he is himself the real heir to Grondale's estates. This fact, out of deference to Miss Campinet, he had not intended to reveal, but events forced him to it. The result is that Lord Grondale dies conveniently, and Miss Campinet becomes the hero's wife.

As a minor thread running through the plot, and acting as a dominating motive for the hero's character, there is Hernsprong's notion of returning to found an ideal state on his 60,000 acres on the Potowmac. The beauty of this conception is contrasted constantly with sardonic pictures of the corruption of the church, of politics, of Lords, ministers, and clergymen, in English society. But even in such a society, Hernsprong, the natural man, is the ideal hero, strong, unconventional, easily winning by plain rude sincerity over the subtlety and guile of an artificial Lord. He too, calls war murder, asserting that it is fought for "pure glory", or for "plunder". His money he gives freely to the poor and the distressed, though Bage does not seem to recognize, as a radical should, that had the poor not first earned it and given it to him, he would have had nothing to give them. Like Holcroft, Bage, though a merchant, is poor at economics. Taking it for granted that his natural man should have all the prerogatives of a civilized man as well as of a natural man, Bage shows us Hernsprong toying with ideas of the ideal colony he is to establish among the Aborigines, and trying to decide whether to leave the European scene of wealth, artificiality, poverty, and hypocrisy for America, or to remain and naturalize - if one may be pardoned the term - the Europeans. Hernsprong's notions of the choice before him, may be gleaned from his speech contrasting European and American culture. He says, "nature in her more simple moods is unable to furnish a rich European with a due portion of pleasurable sensations. . .

All the arts are employed to amuse him, and expel the taedium vitae, acquired by the stimulus of pleasure being used till it will stimulate no more; and all the arts are insufficient. Of this disease. . . the native Americans know nothing. When war and hunting no more require their exertions, they can rest in peace. After satisfying the more immediate wants of nature they dance, they play; weary of this they bask in the sun and sing."¹ If, he goes on to say, happiness is the chief good, these noble creatures have it, though their pleasures, he admits, are not so various nor so high as those of a European. It is perhaps superfluous to add that Miss Campinet proves quite domestic and the American plan is not ratified. Though Hermsprong has Tom Paine's contempt for European luxury, he settles in England, goes in for attaining woman's rights, acting as a natural philanthropist, and criticising the ills of politics, artificial manners, and the prejudices of social caste. He is not personally a revolutionary radical, and in a crisis is found on the side of the king. His quest, in other words, for a natural society is more talk than action. He may assert that the upper classes are corrupt, tax gatherers thieves, and chastity folly, but in practice he hedges about as Anna St. Ives did, and enjoys all the advantages of the social order which he pretends to be questing away from. He too is a parlour Bolshevist, not dangerous, because not living up to his principles. He has more vitality than Frank Henley, whom he somewhat resembles, because he has a kind of wild air, and a certain masculinity that Frank with all his exploits lacked. He is the first well known white hero of nature and just from the wilds, in English romantic fiction, a hero drawn out of the woods by his author for the purpose of reforming

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Robert Bage, Hermsprong (1796), Chap. XXVII.

society.¹ His quest is to be a natural man though living in society. He achieves little but a critical point of view, and a bluff downright manner. That he was inconsistent, that his state of nature was a myth, and that he was himself but one of the upper-class parasites whom he condemned remained to be pointed out. The demonstration was not slow in arriving.

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The noble savage theme occurs in English fiction earlier than Bage, perhaps from Mrs. Behn's Oroonoko (1668) on down, but Bage's hero is the first of the well known modern examples. Similar heroes are to be found immediately preceding Bage in Mackenzie's Slavery, or the Times (1792) which contrasts "civilized" slave holding with the nobility of the savage heroes, Zimza, King of Terorwah, and his son the black prince. Itancko, or the Noble Minded Negro, and The Negro Equalled by Few Europeans, Miss Gregory discovers were similar stories written about the same time, and suggests further that perhaps Voltaire's L'ingénu (1767) was the model for Bage's story.

IV.

REACTION AGAINST THE PERFECTIBILIAN AND BACK-TO-NATURE LERO
FROM 1797 TO THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO.

By the year 1797 English liberalism had already become philosophic anarchism, and such radicalism was to many Englishmen about as popular then, as in many quarters the red movement is today. Godwin gives an account of the violent change in public opinion which took place in English thought about the year 1797. "After having for four years heard little else than the voice of commendation", he says, "I was at length attacked from every side, and in a style which defied all moderation and decency. The cry spread like a general infection, and I have been told that not even a pretty novel for boarding-school misses now ventures to aspire to favour unless it contains some expression of dislike or abhorrence to the new philosophy." And a little later he adds, "The societies have perished or where they have not, have shrunk to a skeleton. . . . even the starving labourer in the ale house is become the champion of aristocracy."¹ In poetry the same revolution is to be noted. In Coleridge's Ode to France (1798), and in Wordsworth's Prelude, with its accounts of the same period, we read the recantations of two poetical enthusiasts who had once desired to burn their books and "read Godwin on necessity". Pantisocracy as a romantic quest was no longer held in reverence, and the poets turned wearily away from a world that seemed hopelessly bound for destruction, and fled back to nature and the solace of a sentimental pantheism.

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Wm. Godwin, Thoughts occasioned by the Perusal of Dr. Parr's Spital Sermon, preached at Christ Church, April 15, 1800, being a reply to the attacks of Dr. Parr, Mr. Mackintosh, the author (Malthus) of the "Essay on Population", and others (1801).

The effects of this revolution in opinion is clearly seen in the theme of Godwin's second novel *St. Leon* (1799), a story of the Promethean philanthropist and rationalist, who, though he has only the best of intentions in dealing with mankind, finds that prejudice, custom, and the established superstitions always overcome his efforts at reform. *St. Leon* is the perfectibilian under a curse, an unacknowledged Messiah, yearning to establish in the world the program of universal benevolence and political justice, pursuing the quest, but always frustrate. He becomes a wanderer on the face of the earth, homeless, miserable, young, wealthy, dehumanized. His quest was, like that of Prometheus, to bring the light - of reason - to mankind, and he is attacked, not by the jealous gods, but by the very men to whom he is bringing his immoral gifts. The quest of the perfectibilian is again frustrate, and like the Wandering Jew, cursed with youth and immortality, his one desire is to creep back into the fold along with the other human animals whose prejudices he formerly despised.

Not so well written as "*Caleb Williams*", the novel shows an increased tolerance of life, and an increased humanity in estimating its values, and perhaps even a little skepticism as to the chances for his reforms. Reason is no longer everything. Of his son *St. Leon* is made to say: "His virtue was at length crowned with the most enviable reward the earth has to boast, the faithful attachment of a noble-minded and accomplished woman".¹ *St. Leon*, then, is perfectibilian in type, but with a supernatural, Wandering-Jew immortality that proves his curse. It is one of the first novels to attempt an historical setting, and this together with the Gothic horror of the Wandering Jew theme, and the humanitarian quest of the perfectibilian even though it lacks the elation of the earlier

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Wm. Godwin, *St. Leon* (1799), Bk. IV, p. 336.

novels of the quest, helps to make it one of the greatest of the novels of purpose produced by the Godwinian radicals. "To write another novel would kill me", said Godwin. "What matter", retorted Shelley, "if we have another 'St. Leon'!"

What the perfectibilian and naturalistic heroes of the romantic quest began to represent to most Englishmen by the turn of the century, and the fact that they clearly recognized that such a type was abroad in the land, is perhaps more clearly revealed in the novels of two enemies of radicalism then appearing, than it had been even in the thunders of Burke or in the horrified renunciations of the poets -- the "lost leaders". In a novel entitled "The Vagabond" (1799), George Walker, a popular London bookseller, turned novelist for the occasion, proceeded to unveil a portrait of the back-to-nature perfectibilian, and to show the real inwardness of his romantic quest and the results bound to flow from either the individual or social adoption of such views, or such a pursuit.¹ Interest in George Walker, strangely enough, has never since the first decade of the nineteenth century been very strong. Miss Gregory, almost alone, mentions his work, and that chiefly for its anti-revolutionary sentiments. That Walker's attacks were on a type of character perhaps as much as on a system of philosophy or of government, is suggested by his title. From the point of view of the development of a heroic type, the distinction is important.

The satire of "The Vagabond" begins brightly and at once:

"One fine summer evening Doctor Alogos walked out to the banks of Wynander Meer, to enjoy the beautiful scenery surrounding, and reflected in the mirror of the crystal lake.

"'This is charming', said he to himself, as he walked onward; 'the harmony of nature is visible in every object around me; the clouds form a majestic and ever-varying canopy; man alone deviates from that pure state of existence he knew in the golden age; man

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George Walker (1772-1847), novelist and bookseller. See London Directory; Biog. Universelle; Dict. of Nat. Biog.; A. Gregory, The French Revolution and the English Novel (1915).

alone is unhappy; his passions and his appetites in society know no bounds short of attainment; and why? because he will not copy the example of unerring nature in her conduct of animals. These never deviate into rapine and outrage -- they live free and are happy.'

"At that moment he heard a noise in the air, and looking round, distinguished an hawk in full pursuit after a lapwing. The harmless creature fluttered, and appeared nearly exhausted, while the bird of prey redoubled his exertions. -- Dr. Alogos, who usually walked with a fowling piece for his amusement, brought the hawk down at a shot; and the lapwing, as if to thank him, settled near upon the ground. In a little time it recovered from its fright, and a fine worm creeping before it fell a prey to instinct.

"The Doctor mused on this subject as he continued his walk.-- 'At worst', said he, 'this is only a partial evil, and does not interrupt the harmony of the universe; it is only matter changing form, and making room in the great field of nature for new existences; if we had no hawks, in twenty years the whole surface of the earth would be covered with lapwings, the whole globe would be so over-run with worms, that, like a Cheshire cheese filled with mites, the crusting would crumble away. It is necessary the stronger animals should prey upon the weaker, and quite in the order of things: but for men to murder each other is very different, and arises from an unjust accumulation of property. On happy times when property was unregarded, when no tyrant could plant his foot upon an acre of ground, and repulse his fellow from the sod! Property! property! thou art the bane of earthly good, an ulcer in society, and a cancer in the political economy.'

"As the Doctor stamped his foot upon the ground in the attitude of an orator, heated with the idea of revolution and equality, a young man in a very ragged dress leaped from a thicket of hazels, and, holding a pistol to the Doctor's breast, demanded his money.

"The Doctor's piece was unloaded, or his benevolence for the human species might have been lost in the agitation of surprise; but making a full pause, and gazing at his antagonist ... 'This', said he, 'is not right in the nature of things; force tells me that your argument is wrong: you should have first convinced me of your wants, and then my purse would have been your just property.'

"'All property is a monopoly', cried the young metaphysician, 'and the most laconic arguments are best: these rags which I wear are sufficient vouchers for my wants; and unless you can prove that some other has a greater claim to your property, I must have the contents of your pockets.'

"You are a philosopher", said the Doctor.

"Yes", replied the youth; 'my dear Stupeo used to tell me so; but philosophy is not rewarded in the present detestable system of things; virtue is ridiculed, and vice rides in gilded coaches.'

"How much do you need?" said the Doctor in a transport. 'You are a pupil of the new school; come along with me, and you shall find a man who will esteem you exactly according to the quantity of merit you possess; your talents ought not to be thus lost.'¹

The story thus begun consists of a series of philosophically motivated adventures, carried on by the three metaphysicians here introduced; Doctor Alogos, the elderly Rousseauist; Fredrick Fenton, the hero, and Stupeo, his^{would-be} college tutor and teacher in radicalism. Under the impulse of ideas gleaned from Rousseau, Hume, Holcroft's "Anna St. Ives", Godwin's "Political Justice" and his "Caleb Williams", from Priestley, Condorcet, Dr. Price, and from a reading of Bage and other sentimental works about the noble savages in America, and the beauty of a state of nature, these three radicals set forth on a quest for the back-to-nature utopia, striving as they go to put into practice the doctrines they have learned. Walker had a masterly knowledge of the radicalism of his day, and he exhibits a Johnsonian thrust in satirizing it. The main part of the story may be briefly summarized.

The Vagabond, Fredrick Fenton, starting as a keen young idealist, falls in college into the hands of an unscrupulous anarchist, Stupeo, who tutors him so well in radical doctrines, that he casts off his duty to his family in favor of his duty to the general good and to political justice. Tilting against the church, the state, private property, friendship, marriage, and kindred "evils", Fenton succeeds at last in "rising far above human nature". In the course of his romantic quest, he seduces the mistress of

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George Walker, The Vagabond (1799), chapter 1.

his best friend, permits a pretty girl and her father to perish in the flames while he is engaged in a philosophical discussion on the propriety of rescuing the "useful" pretty girl or the "useless" old man, leads a mob to burn down the metropolis of Great Britain, induces a wife to betray her husband, and so causes his death, loses himself three teeth and a little finger in the cause of liberty, and finally, in robbing a coach, murders his own mother, who happens to be one of the passengers in the coach. All of these exploits are motivated by the doctrines of the new school, and its teaching of free love, the abolition of private property, and an inability to see that material things have any existence except in the mind.

Stupeco, the tutor, has even worse luck in his quest. He is much in conflict with authority and is "rescued" several times from prison, but these rescues avail him little, as he is eventually burned alive by the "noble savages" in America, where the three of them have gone to found an idyllic natural society. This venture of theirs into the wilds of Kentucky affords the author ample opportunity to heap contempt on romantic writings about American natural scenery and American natural liberty. The rude blows of natural liberty almost cause the death of Fenton and Doctor Alogos also, but they are rescued just in the nick of time from Stupeco's fate, by the arrival of the very friend whom Fenton had betrayed in the affair with his mistress. Fenton, rescued and forgiven, repents, and he and the Doctor decide to return to England and live the rest of their days under a constitutional monarchy, and to thank God for conventions, friends, marriage, and the British constitution in the best of all possible worlds.

Such a summary gives little idea of the incisiveness of the author's satire or of the eloquence with which he imitates Godwin, Rousseau, "the fashionable Mr. Hume", and Bage's rhapsodic writings on nature. In fact

he knew his subject even a bit too well for our conviction, as his demonstrations come out with an exactness almost mathematical in certainty, an exactness which unfortunately, or perhaps fortunately, is the fruit of experience given to no radical and no conservative then or now. Things turn out as they may, and a guess ahead is the best that is permitted even the wisest. However, in his portrayal of the romantic perfectibilian going back to nature, and seeking in the wilds of solitude a place not to be had from attempts to reform mankind, Walker was prophetic of the change taking place in the English romanticism of the time. That the hero of perfectibility was the villain Walker portrays may well be doubted, but, in his common sense condemnation of romantic reforms in morals and politics one seems to hear again the booming tones of a certain eighteenth century voice, and the downright accents of the most sturdy of English moralists. Political events are bringing reaction; they tend to make of the hero of romantic perfectibility a villain whose one desire is to pull down the pillars of society, an upsetter of customs, loving change for its own sake. Such opprobrium drives him back to nature indeed. The social perfectibilian becomes the individualist, the seeker for an utopia remote from men. Humanitarianism itself becomes discredited by Malthus, as apt to rescue the weak and over-populate the globe, and as a result the hero of the romantic quest flies for a time to the desert and the heart of nature. There was no other place to go.

An even more violent attack on the back-to-nature perfectibilian was launched by the Reverend Charles Lucas in his novel "The Infernal Quixote" (1801), a novel dedicated to Pitt, and attacking in the character of the hero-villain Marauder, some nine types of diabolism then current among the

hated radicals.¹ The names of these types suggest the notions Lucas attacked. They were the Stoics, Epicureans, Peripatetics, and Virtuosos, who are described as being "of ancient race but modernized"; and the modern diabolists included the Illuminati, the Libertinians, the Naturals, the Reasoners, and the Nothingers. In defining these types Lucas illustrates them by passages from Godwin, Rousseau, Hume, Mary Wollstonecraft, Holcroft, and Graves' "The Spiritual Quixote". The story, like "Anna St. Ives", is intended to illustrate the life of a hero who in real life follows the ideals of the new philosophy, overthrows authority, and lives by reason alone. The mainspring of human action according to Holcroft is benevolence, and according to Lucas it is selfishness. With Holcroft the institution corrupts; with Lucas it purges and humanizes. Both "Anna St. Ives" and "The Infernal Quixote" are propagandist novels. Frank Henley is the result of one theory, and Marauder of the other. Marauder is Lovelace philosophized, and on a romantic quest for change of all sorts, and trying to justify his career by the philosophies of Godwin, Rousseau, and Hume.

In his universal attack on heroes of the quixotic and romantic quest, Lucas undertakes to lay bare the recipe on which a Democratic enthusiast or a Methodist quixote will concoct his oration or sermon. With the former it is "justification by reason", and with the latter "justification by faith". Those are the guiding principles, but the two are interchangeable: "Faith, Grace, Hope, and Charity make it the one; and Liberty, Reason, Equality, and Justice make it the other." The double oration concocted to fit both sets of radicals follows.

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Chas. Lucas (1769-1854), miscellaneous writer and divine, now little known. Cf. Watt's Bibl. Brit.; Foster's Alumni Oxon., 1715-1886; Dict. Nat. Biog.; A. Gregory's French Revolution and the English Novel (1915).

This satiric sermon causes much discussion, and finally leads the author to write his chapter on the nine kinds of philosophic questers that are then current. This done, the author next visits a family in the country that live according to the new doctrines, the Cloudley family, whose lives are set forth as a satire on natural living and schemes of Pantisocracy. "Cloudley Hall underwent a thorough metamorphosis. Every individual and selfish consideration was nobly sacrificed to the general good of the family; master and mistress, man servant and maid servant, were scarcely to be distinguished from each other. Mr. Cloudley employed himself in agriculture; Mrs. C. read and wrote morning, noon, and night; though sometimes by way of relaxation, she fed the pigs, milked the cows, made hay, and did other little jobs. It must not be omitted Lucas adds that Mrs. Cloudley boasted the largest library in the kingdom of female authors. Yet in spite of her learning and reading, a promising young family came very fast. Misses and masters, as soon as they were able to run, were consigned to the direction of the all-instructing goddess, Nature. Clad in a check-shirt and a pair of trousers each (other covering they had none) boys and girls, barefooted and bare headed, in all seasons and all weathers ranged, uncontrouled, about the premises. They grew up to be the terrors of the neighborhood. In learning, they were taught their ABC's but nothing else. "Subjects of study", said Mrs. Cloudley, "we force not on them. In these they can exercise their own will; here they have a choice, a right", and Mrs. C. was too true a philosophess to prejudice their wills or debar them of a choice or right.

Lucretia and Amazonia were the girls' names, and Brutus, Voltaire, Hercules, and Tom Paine, the boys'. Mrs. C., though she wore always "a riding jacket with a short thin petticoat, striped drawers visible, sandals

on her feet, and a man's hat on her head", was nevertheless quite charming, and obeying the principles of Godwin, eventually eloped, lived a mistress, was deserted, stabbed her lover, and became the mistress of a king. Mr. C., as a result, went insane, and all the little C's ran away to the ends of the earth.

One of the most successful pieces of satire on the romantic quest for free love is Mrs. Cloudley's letter to her husband when she deserts him for her lover. She cites Cato, the Queen of Sheba, Lycurgus, and Godwin to prove that she does right in leaving her husband when she is tired of him, and goes on to inform him as to the parentage of his children: "Lucretia, let me inform you, is the offspring of the beautiful young coachman that drove my aunt to Bath. She was born, you must remember, eight months after the unmeaning ceremony (marriage) passed between us. Amazonia is your own child; so I believe, is Brutus. Voltaire is the son of that charming youth, who from a neighboring town came to cut my locks, ere we knew that nature would annually shed them herself. Hercules boasts for his sire your brawny ploughman; and Tom Paine is the son of that ingenious rat catcher, who in less than three weeks, routed those voracious animals from our house." "Tomorrow", she continues, "I fly, not from you, but from jealousy, with the most charming youth Nature ever formed, and Truth and Virtue ever adopted." When Mr. Cloudley recovers from his jealousy, she says, she will return, and the three of them will all live together very comfortably at Cloudley Hall. But Mr. C. inconsiderately goes insane, perhaps because she tells him that for her, "possession had long banished passion".¹

The hero of these romantic quests, however, is none of these seekers after free love and the life of nature, but Marauder, a hero who to Lucas,

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Ibid, Bk. III.

is so unheroic as to be thought of as an Anti-Christ. His exploits therefore, though justified by the new reason, really spring from his infernal nature which is akin to the world of outer nature. He too seduces the mistress of his best friend, schemes dishonestly for a rich marriage and fails; tries to ride an Irish rebellion into power and fails; and finally, pursued by his ancient friend Wilson, who is a conservative, moral, sober, and fighting for his king, Marauder, rather than be taken as a rebel, jumps over a cliff and kills himself. Diabolism is here pushed to so great an extreme, that Lucas finds it hard to account for so vile a villain even by anatomizing his nine deadly sins. The reader revolts against the author, and like many who contemplate how awful goodness is in "Paradise Lost", finds it difficult to be on the side of the angels. Lucas seems to feel this weakness in his account, and he therefore proceeds at great length to dissect the various kinds of romantic quests in which Marauder is engaged. Though the character of Lucas' hero is unconvincing, his anatomy of the nine deadly quests for romantic sin, and of the villainous "heroes" who engage in them, is historically an important document in showing the variety which by the year 1801 had been achieved in romantic endeavours, and in portraying heroes of the romantic quest.

The NEW PHILOSOPHY Lucas defines as "a species of wisdom which man discovers by the aid of his own individual powers, corporeal and mental, without the aid of any superior Being, directly or indirectly". The persons who embrace this new philosophy Lucas then separates into nine groups, diabolists on an infernal quest, who debated like those in Milton's hell, of

Providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
 Fixt fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute;
 And found no end in wandering mazes lost.

As these nine classes of heroes of romantic diabolism afford excellent descriptions-in-little of the variety of revolutionary enthusiasts then con-

templating universal chaos, it is perhaps worth while to quote Lucas' descriptions.

There are, he says, (1) the stoics, or insensibles, who are proud, feel superior, and only exert themselves in laconic criticism of a destructive sort over a pipe. "With a puff of smoke a nation is ruined; a puff declares - all religion a joke; the voice of joy or gladness is heard only with a puff; and troubles, misfortunes, deaths of friends or relatives are mourned only with a puff. In short with these -- 'tis all a puff. . . All learning in their opinion is Latin and Greek. . . stubbornness the only virtue, and good-nature the only vice." As an example of one of these romantic questers for reducing everything to insensibility, Lucas quotes that great Stoic Hume on suicide. "It would be no crime of me to divert the Nile or Danube from its course; where then, is the crime in turning a few ounces of natural blood from their channel. . . A hair, a fly, an insect is able to destroy this mighty being, whose life is of such importance. Is it an absurdity to suppose that human prudence may lawfully dispose of what depends upon such insignificant causes?" To unmask these diabolists is, in the opinion of Lucas, to destroy them.

In contrast to the stoics, are (2) the epicureans or gratifiers of the sensess, seekers after sensation who please Lucas even less. "These signalize themselves by eating, drinking, wenching; are never satisfied, ever cloyed, and constantly seeking for novelty. Government is wrong because they are always seeking for something else. . . and religion is false because it forbids us to gratify those senses nature has given us. Enjoyment, which is ever in their mouths, never seems to be in their hearts. . . Their grand creed is that the philosopher's stone consists of a sixth sense, and their emblem is Tantalus. . yet, unlike him, they are disappointed by possession itself. . . They are chiefly found among young

men, well born, and moderately taught."

The third class peripatetics or busy bodies, who have "ambition without ability, information without knowledge", clothes without manners, and medals without courage, who dislike religion and the church, and read only newspapers and reviews, portrays Lucas' notion of the shallow quester for dilettante successes.

Class four, the virtuosoes, or lovers of wonder, are more romantic in their search for antique joys. These questers are continually reverting to the joys of what has been, as the less they know of a thing the more wonderful and valuable it is. "All modern laws and customs they abominate. Lycurgus, Solon, and Numa are their models; and if they ever have a Deity, . . . his name shall be Jupiter". They object to the Bible for its lack of a sufficient antiquity, and one Virtuoso even went to live in China because he heard that it was the oldest country on the globe. "They wish to revive the blessings of primaeval times, and all their writings in divinity, science, and politics are in praise of the Golden Age."

In contrast to those who sing of a past age of gold are "the illuminati, or wise-acres, who are of the same party, only they despise what is past, and are quite at home in what is to come. Their belief is that all the world were fools until the present generation, and that they themselves are the wisest of this." They plan great things, but have few means of carrying them out, like the French who were to avoid the English fleet by coming over in balloons to Salisbury Plain with an army. Godwin's statement that "sleep is one of the most conspicuous infirmities of the human frame" is cited as an example of the beliefs of this type of romantic quester for a future elysium.

More typical of the romantic quester of a revolutionary age are (6) the libertinians or champions of liberty. These are known by their haughty

and tyrannical spirit; vociferators for equality, they would lower all their superiors to their own station in life; and so fond are they of peace, that they would murder half the world to gain it. . . . Their language and their conduct are in continual opposition. Their ambitious views they call Equality; their love of power, Liberty; depopulation is with them Civilization; and forced subsidies a Voluntary Loan; the sword and the pistol are Argument and Reason; and death, Conviction."

Next to liberty, Lucas says, these diabolists of romance worship nature and with nature the reason. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish (7) the naturals from (8) the reasoners. "The naturals are the sect most easily satisfied, as they mean to gain everything by taking everything away." The reasoners, however, are more subtle in their guile, and "persuade the naturals that everything is one thing, and that all their own fancies, whims, tricks, and nonsense are the genuine offspring of nature". This agility, it will be seen, "gives the reasoners the advantage of making whatever they like to be right. . . . They can prove that it is reasonable for others to fast and they to feast. Why? Because fasting and feasting make things even; and whatever is even is right. The reasoners will tell you that they are never deceived, because, like other frail mortals, they do not trust either the legends of antiquity, the opinion of the wisest men, or even to their senses, but to a far superior principle -- their reason. One of this sect will thus argue -- 'Common prejudices, customs, and opinions deceive our fellow men every day. How ridiculous it is to assert, under the foolish proof of daily experience, that it is easier to walk down hill than to walk up hill! When a man walks down hill, every step is beyond the common level; the whole body receives a jar, and the foot is forced below that point where it ought to have stopped. But when a man walks up hill,

the ground, as it were, rises to meet his foot, he does not need the exertion of putting it down, he has nothing to do but to lift up his leg -- the ground is ready to receive it; and were it not for that prejudice which we imbibed in our infancy, when we come to a steep hill, we might be over it in a moment.' On such principles they argue that men should use only one eye at a time, because they will see straighter ahead that way, and not use them up so rapidly as if they use them both at a time. Again, don't stir your soup to cool it, as motion begets heat, and yet again Virtue in the extreme is Vice. Christianity is virtue in the extreme. Therefore Christianity is Vice."

And last of the nine sects of Lucas are the nothings, devils indeed, who "have for their golden rule -- there is nothing but what they know. Of course", Lucas adds *if esse est percipi*, "it follows that they must know everything". These relativists, therefore, "are free from the ties, obligations, and duties which an absolute religion imposes upon us, and from this they gain the most amazing advantages". (1) They are never guilty of any vice, for every act depends on circumstances belonging to it. (2) When it suits their convenience they can easily swear that they do not believe in any of the old exploded Christian doctrines because they do not believe in anything. (3) They can also swear that they do believe in whatever is necessary for their advantage, because nothing is binding or sacred to them, and therefore an oath cannot be so. (4) There is the incredible advantage that the nothing has in conversation; which being restrained by no tie of decency or sanctity, the wit or satire is never confined. In argument it is both an invincible shield and a keen sword, for having no principle of their own to defend, they may safely attack others, but are themselves invulnerable. (5) By this argument they get rid of the moral law: a candlestick is acted on by magnetism, a man by motive, but both by

necessity. Thus man is in reality a passive, and not an active being, and can do no other than his motives make him do. There is then no moral law, only a law of reason which changes motives. This argument, Lucas says, is taken directly from the nothings's bible, Godwin's "Political Justice", and it has had some success. The French have chosen their whole diplomatic corps from this sect with great success both at home and abroad. By this they cajoled the people, by this they overran the Italian states; by this they took the Isle of Malta, and landed in Egypt; whether this will fail them at last, time must determine. Every Jacobin is of this sect, and they generally also embrace most of the others, except the naturals, and that they they endeavour to make the Souverain Peuple."

Having defined the nine tribes of romantic upsetters of society, Lucas proceeds to paint his hero Marauder, the chief of all the sects, and containing in his own personality some of the infernal quixotism of all the nine varieties. The master passion of this genius, his nepenthe, philosopher's stone, nature's best secret, and universal bias, the mystic number by which he squared the circle, in short, his golden rule, Lucas says, was that all principle is folly. "No tie of love, or affection, natural or acquired held Marauder." His guiding star was his own interest. The Infernal Quixote, then, is after power and fame. He uses Machiavellian methods to get them, but descends finally to vulgar and crude tactics. He uses the ideas of the radicals as the machinery by which he is to rise, but he has no heart in them, and no belief in anything but his own desires, lusts, and powers. He is said by Lucas to have had more powers than he ever succeeds in giving him. We don't believe that he is as clever as Lucas says, as he never acts cleverly, nor talks particularly so. However, he is intended as a portrait of the idealist turned devil, the great difficulty being, that there is no idealism in his character. The value of the book historically lies in its

definitions, and in its satire directed against perfectibilians, nature worshippers, etc. It is a thesis in itself on the hero of the romantic quest. That it fails when it tries to reveal that hero in real flesh and blood, does not deprive it of its historical value as a document in romanticism, and as a sign of the reaction against the hero-as-villain in revolutionary guise.

After two such strenuous and popular attacks on perfectibilian dreamers, naturalists, free lovers, and nothings, as those of Walker and Lucas, and after the bitter experiences of England with the French revolutionary doctrines, it is hardly to be expected that the English radical novelists could any longer cling with much faith to the romantic dreams of their youth. That they did not do so is, I think, revealed in the course of the romantic novel of experiment during this period. As perfectibility declines, an individualistic naturalism arises in its place, the romantic perfectibilian flies from a world where his dreams can no longer legislate for reality, and shuts himself off in romantic melancholy with nature, consoled only by a voluptuous revery of pure sensation.¹

From the year 1800 till the Battle of Waterloo English fiction with few exceptions, did little to develop or deepen the conception of a hero of the romantic quest. There were a few minor imitations of Godwin and Holcroft that lingered on a year or so after the turn of the century.

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For a somewhat parallel development of revolutionary naturalism the works of Charlotte Smith are instructive. In 1785 she translated Manon Lescaut, and in 1792 wrote Desmond, whose hero is a revolutionary enthusiast who combines questing for the naturalistic millenium of fraternity and equality with a Werther-like passion for a married lady. In her novel The Young Philosopher, Nature His Law and God His Guide (1798), the effects of the reaction against perfectibility are evident, and the Young Philosopher tired of English corruption, sets forth on a quest for liberty, justice, and benevolence in the wilds of America. Cf. Aliene Gregory, The French Revolution and the English Novel (1915) pp. 213-222.

"Adelaide de Narbonne, with Memoirs of Charlotte de Cordet" (1800) by the author of "Henry of Northumberland", presented the French heroine in glorified colours as the "new woman" of the Revolution, questing through assassination for liberty. "The Memoirs of Emma Courtney" (1802) by Mary Hays, shows how reason may eliminate passion to form a more natural society, and presents one more example of the perfectibilian heroine. Godwin, Paine, Rousseau, Holcroft, Mary Wollstonecraft, and Holbach are there quoted as guiding philosophers. In 1803 Mrs. Mathews in a novel "What Has Been", presents Mrs. Anna St. Ives as a benevolent old lady, and shows us a heroine learning through poverty to value the revolutionary simplicity of the natural state. And finally in 1804 Mrs. Opie in "Adeline Mowbray" chooses as a heroine Mary Wollstonecraft, the new woman, a more honest and daring Anna St. Ives, seeking among other perfect things, love in its purest, most natural state, and being as a result broken on the wheel of convention by the moral dislike of society for her marriageless life with Glenmurray (Godwin). Mrs. Opie's treatment is sympathetic toward the heroine, whom she presents as the victim of visionary ideals, but toward those ideals she is severe.¹

The tendency of the perfectibilian to find in Rousseauistic revery the dream ideal which reforming society was unable to furnish him, is seen in "Fleetwood", Godwin's third novel, published the year after "Adeline Mowbray". The decline of the social naturalism and the growth of a naturalism of the individual is one of the chief characteristics to be noted in Fleetwood's career.

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For further treatment of these novels cf. Allene Gregory, The French Revolution and the English Novel (1915).

Godwin's "Fleetwood, or the New Man of Feeling" (1805), is the story of a Rousseau-bred child, corrupted as a young man by Oxford and Paris; rescued from debauchery by Ruffigny, a Rousseauistic Swiss, and a friend of Fleetwood's father. Spending the twenty years of his middle life continually in search of contentment, which as invariably eluded his pursuit, Fleetwood finally, as a philosopher of forty-five married a young girl, and (how is the perfectibilian fallen!) making a fool of himself after Othello's manner, only just escaped killing his wife by his baseless jealousy. The change that has come over the philosopher of "Political Justice" is further shown by his conversion to capital punishment. Gifford, the Iago of the piece, who has made Fleetwood jealous in order to get his money, Fleetwood confesses he was glad to see die on the scaffold, though he "had always regarded with horror those sanguinary laws which, under the name of justice, strike at the life of man". This it must be admitted, looks dangerously like a belief in original sin, personal responsibility, and the efficacy of human punishment, though with consistency, perfectibilians, like politicians, need perhaps have nothing to do. Godwin's theories are stressed, however, with all his old fire in his powerful arraignment of child labor, which is described in detail in the episodic account of the life of the Swiss Ruffigny. The hours of toil in these child-labor establishments were from twelve to fourteen, children being employed to begin as early as the age of four, at the wages of twelve sous a week. The pathos of such cruelty Godwin hurled at the hard hearts of smug conservatives, though it was a sermon with which Englishmen were then largely out of sympathy.

But for the most part, we find the revolutionary propaganda in "Fleetwood" a little dulled and listless. This is not only evident in the change in the character of the hero, but one suspects that by 1805 Godwin

himself had many of Fleetwood's feelings about public matters. Fleetwood tried many things in his quest for contentment, he tells us, but without avail.

"I spent more than twenty years of my life continually in search of contentment, which as invariably eluded my pursuit. . . I wanted something, I knew not what. I sought it in solitude and in crowds, in travel and at home, in ambition and in independence. My ideas moved slow; I was prone to ennui. I wandered among mountains and rivers, through verdant plains, and over immense precipices; but nature had no beauties. I plunged into the society of the rich, the gay, the witty, and the eloquent; but I sighed; disquisition did not rouse me to animation; laughter was death to my flagging spirits."¹

He joins an author's club; he gets into Parliament, but boredom always overcomes him. Of his quest for political justice in Parliament he says:

"Once or twice, indeed, I felt that animation which raised my soul to such a pitch, that I was conscious I had nothing left for the moment to desire. Some measures in which I had a part were of immediate importance to the welfare of thousands. Some struggles in which I had joined were arduous; some victories, in which I was one among the conquerors, carried transport to my heart. I witnessed situations like that which Burke describes upon the repeal of the American Stamp Act. . . But these occasions were of rare occurrence; we soon fell back into the shop-keeping and traffic-trained character I deplored; and even to these triumphs themselves, so beautiful to the eye, it was often found that treachery, calculation, and cabal had contributed their polluted aid."²

The quest for perfectibility, however, is not the element of Fleetwood's life that distinguishes him from other heroes of the romantic quest then popular. It is rather the reaction in disillusion that marks him as different. And here for the first time Godwin really turns to a state of nature, an individualistic nature of Rousseauistic reverie and sentiment. Weary of the world, Fleetwood returns to the scenes of nature from whence he came as a boy. For his youth had been like Wordsworth's.

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Wm. Godwin, Fleetwood (1805), V. II. Chap. XI.

2

Ibid, V. II. Chap. IX.

"I had few companions. . . The jarring passions of men, their loud contentions, their gross pursuits, their crafty delusions, their boistrous mirth, were objects which, even in idea, my mind shrunk from with horror. . .

"With such a tone of mind the great features of nature are particularly in accord. . . I loitered by the side of the river, and drank in at leisure the beauties that surrounded me. I sat for hours on the edge of a precipice, and considered in quiet the grand and savage objects around me. . . While thus amused, I acquired the habit of being absent in mind from the scene which was before my senses. . . I sunk into a sweet insensibility to the impressions of external nature. The state thus produced was. . . reverie, a state where the mind has neither action nor distinct ideas, but is swallowed up in a living death, which, at the same time that it is indolent and inert, is not destitute of a certain voluptuousness."¹

As a child of nature his life is idyllic and pure, but Oxford corrupts him. The savagery of young men in society together Godwin very much deplores. Their particular wickedness consisted of making sport of a clergyman's son who had written and read aloud a horrible tragedy founded on the fifth labor of Hercules. Their elaborate guying of the "poet" so humiliated him that he committed suicide - a fantastic Godwinian way of punishing harmless college humorists - and this put an end to such sport. Wine and women were left, however, and Fleetwood's amours described in high-philosophico-Godwinian are a delight to the vulgar even today.

By a return to nature, however, Fleetwood is destined to be saved, both when Ruffigny rescues him from dissipation in Paris, and later when he is reconciled to his wife, also a child of nature, and led back to idyllic sanity and health, in calm of mind, all passion spent. The peace of nature begins and ends his career, and the quest for social perfectibility is but a mad whirlwind of his middle years.

In "Fleetwood", then, the perfectibilian is gone a bit stale; capital punishment is praised; marriage is praised; and the erstwhile rationalist

and reformer becomes a prey to that most irrational of passions, jealousy. The practical program enthusiasms of 1790 have run out, and the sentimental naturalism of Rousseau and Wordsworth is now taking their place.

It may be thought matter for wonder that a rationalist like Godwin could so desert the reason as to portray as a hero a Fleetwood of irrationalism, of back-to-nature reverie, and pure sensation. How did rationalism in St. Leon become sentimental naturalism in Fleetwood? This metamorphosis has been discussed by Mr. B. Sprague Allen in an article on Godwin as a sentimentalist.¹ Mr. Allen there attempts to show how Godwin's rationalism "disintegrated. . . under the influence of ideas and emotional tendencies that he had assimilated from Rousseauism", and so in effect became sentimentalism. Though in general this seems to me a just conclusion, I find it difficult to discover in Mr. Allen's article just what the link was that connected reason and sentiment. Perhaps it will be clearer if one says that Godwin believed that from a state of political justice he could deduce a state of nature that would make man's life ideal. But political justice he arrived at by the reason. Once in a state of nature, however, as no doubt Godwin realized, there would then be no more use for the reason, as then one would already possess and not merely have to deduce political justice. Given such a condition, the "indolent voluptuousness" of Fleetwood's sentimental reverie alone with nature, would then be the highest state; and so via reason, one arrives at political justice, and by political justice one finds himself arrived at a state of nature. Being arrived so high, one no longer needs the ladder by which he rose; reason may well be abandoned, and the natural sentiments liberally indulged. It is all excessively simple!

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B. Sprague Allen, Godwin as a Sentimentalist, Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn. of America (1918).

The arrested development of the perfectibilian which we have noted taking place in Godwin's heroes, is but one instance of the general change occurring in the novel during the first decade of the nineteenth century. For the most part, it may be said, that English fiction during this period was hostile or contemptuous in its treatment of the hero or heroine of the romantic quest. The public showed its disregard of the beauties of romantic stories by turning its attention to the appalling morality of Hannah More's "Coelebs in Search of a Wife" (1809), and later to the firm-set satires of Miss Austen's unchanging world.

Added disapproval of the romantic quest is evidenced by the appearance of such a work as "Asmodeus, or the Devil in London" (1808) anon., a novel attacking Methodists, the Illuminati, and rights-of-women enthusiasts like Mary Wollstonecraft, whose ideals are regarded as the "chimeras of a visionary". One other novel Eaton Stannard Barrett's "The Heroine" (1813) completes the pre-Waterloo attacks, and ends the conservative interlude during which the hero of the romantic quest was to most Englishmen a decidedly distasteful hero. Barrett's "The Heroine, or the Adventures of Cherubina", a novel still occasionally read, marks like "Northanger Abbey" a reaction not so much against the perfectibilians and back-to-nature enthusiasts, as against Mrs. Radcliffe, the Gothic Romance horrors, and the sentimentalism of the Sorrows-of-Werther hero. Barrett's novel shows close parallels with Mrs. Lennox' "The Female Quixote" (1752), which had turned away from the quixotic folly of the romancers of the Scudery type by showing the young ladies of that day the nonsense in the adventures of the fair Arabella. Barrett's fair Cherubina is her literary twin. A brief summary will show the heroine's romantic follies.

Cherubina, the healthy daughter of an honest, but to her disgustingly kind-hearted and sensible farmer, decides that she must be a heroine, and

that the way to do it, is to discover that she is not really so plebeian a person as the daughter of a farmer, but an earl's daughter in disguise, kidnapped by "farmer Wilkinson" (her father). She therefore looks about, finds half of an old document, decides that it says that she is not Cherry Wilkinson, but Cherubina Willoughby, and so she sets off in search of adventures. Like Mrs. Lennox, Barrett keeps the atmosphere very commonplace, motivates the actions of the "heroes" whom Cherubina meets, by the most sordid of motives, and makes excellent sport of her high flown notions. Among the things satirised are: Cherubina's raving beauty, plain birth, and quest for a romantic father; her romantic letters, speeches, and confessions at crises; her misjudging of the commonest situations because of her romantic predilections; her reading; her pretense at eating nothing but of living on dreams; her pretense that she is being kidnapped when a sensible man offers her marriage, and vows he will never give her up; her taste for blood-and-thunder fights, and her vows that she will have no man who has not been in an encounter or two; her penchant for old-manuscript discoveries; her wild adventures "alone in London"; her notion that old ruins must yield up a ghost or two; her epigrammatic pertness; her hatred of custom and law; her rulelessness; her unconventional taking up with any man of the streets and following him to his house; her reversing the order of Richardson and enclosing her father in a mad house while she goes forth on a quest for adventure; her being the dupe of villains and radicals who pull the wool over her eyes by simulating her romantic jargon and formulae; her narrow escapes from bad situations; and finally, much like The Fair Arabella of Mrs. Lennox, her conversion by means of an unromantic, common-sense lecture.

Besides writing "The Heroine", Barrett was the author of two popular satiric pamphlets on political and moral radicalism, now almost unknown, but

historically worth a glance as showing the reaction against such heroes of the romantic quest as Vathek, and the Gothic villains. The first of these satires was entitled, "The Rising Sun, a Serio-comic Satiric Romance, by Cervantes Hogg, F. S. M." (Fellow of the Swinish Multitude), which ran through three editions in 1807. The second pamphlet was "The Setting Sun, or the Devil Amongst the Placemen" (1809). "The Rising Sun" a story with an apologue in the form of an Eastern romance shows us a hero of the romantic quest setting forth, like Vathek, on the Road to Destruction. He, however, instead of running through all experiences that flesh is heir to and ending with a heart in flames, is kidnapped by the fairy Prudentia, and is shown, in a vision lasting seemingly over some fourteen days, his future choices. From the Temple of False Pleasure he and the fairy depart in quest of the Temple of True Pleasure, on the way to which they visit the Asylum for the weak in spirit, the Cave of Reflection, the Cave of Reason, the Grotto of Tranquility, the Cottage of Cheerfulness, and the House of Joy. On the seventh day they arrive at the Temple of True Pleasure, a moderate sized building with plain portal, no noise, and a spacious hall. Entering, they hear an orator in eloquent discourse on Reasons For Believing in the Existence and Immortality of the Soul. Others prove that it is to the interest of mortals to avoid vice and pursue virtue. The dwellers in this Temple have "mild countenances and benign, not in the least tinged with austerity". Their motto, like that of the monks of Thelma, was "do as you please", but they pleased to permit only deeds of moderation. Wine lent no drunkenness; good sense, decorum, gentleness, and conversation mostly on moral and philosophical subjects was the rule. This vision so enchants The Rising Sun, that is, the young prince, that he abandons his excesses, and makes over his life and rule on the above conservative model, and gives over his romantic quest for pleasure and the joys of sensation and revolt.

V.

THE DECLINE OF REACTION AND THE RENAISSANCE OF THE ROMANTIC QUEST
IN THE RISE OF THE BYRONIC HERO.

Political resentment at the activities of the perfectibilians, though it had pretty effectually killed the ideal of a naturalistic utopia for society in general, and so had eliminated that dream from the pursuits of the hero of the romantic quest, declined after the battle of Waterloo. As a result, there was a renaissance of romanticism. Spirits crushed by the failure of Pantisocratic or revolutionary schemes, turned in anguish or with a different hope to new ideals of nature, and of man's place in nature. In poetry the hero of the romantic quest is reborn with a psychological depth and beauty unknown to the previous experiments in romantic fiction. In Germany Goethe is at work on his gigantic embodiment of the quest in his *Faust* (1808-1832), and in France literature is stirring in preparation for Hugo's *"Hernani"* (1830), and the first *Cenacle*. In England the first international embodiment in poetry of the hero in Byron's *"Childe Harold"* (1812-18), and in his *"Don Juan"* (1819-24), showed the real vigor of the ideal and of the heroic type which the novel had evolved. In other words, in plotting the rise and growth of the hero of the romantic quest it is to be noted that in the Gothic Romance and in the novels of Perfectibility and their notions of an utopian naturalism there was a steadily growing conception of the hero of the quest. This growth was arrested with the reaction against the French Revolution at about the turn of the century. The reaction had two effects: to drive the naturalists into seeking an individualistic rather than a social utopia in a state of nature; and also to arouse the conservatives to either a satiric or critical portrayal of the hero, or to a counter presentation

of the joys of the unquesting life, and of the heroism of the conservative and established. This pause in the development of the hero endured, roughly speaking for fifteen years till the Battle of Waterloo. The poets, particularly Byron and Shelley then seized on the conception of the romantic revolt, of idyllic nature, and the insatiable quest for something to worship, and made of the hero of fiction a poetic figure of universal note. Though until the third decade of the century it is to poetry that one must turn for the chief glorification of the hero, echoes of the successes and disasters of the Byronic hero appear almost at once in the novel in the work of Caroline Lamb, Peacock, Maturin, and Mary Shelley.

In Caroline Lamb's "Glenarvon" (1816), we see perhaps the first example of the return of a hero of the romantic quest from poetry to the confines of the novel, the influence previously having been exerted chiefly by fiction on poetry. Lady Caroline Lamb (1785-1828) was a novelist of note if not of popularity, and famous for her beauty, vivacity, and temperament. She was for a time infatuated with Lord Byron, but became disillusioned and wrote "Glenarvon" to expose his diabolism. She was herself, however, romantic in much the same way that Byron was, a consideration that caused Bulwer Lytton, himself in love with her, to make her the model for several of his heroines. Her intense temperament made her more of a victim than a triumph of the romantic quest which her life exemplifies. Her novels receive little notice from historians of fiction, and what notice they do receive is to complain of her inadequate portrayal of Byron.¹ Historically, however, "Glenarvon" is symbolical of more than has perhaps been suspected, that is to say of the poetizing in English

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Cf. R. W. Whiteford, Motives in Fiction (1918), pp. 273-274.

fiction of the hero of the romantic quest.

"Glenarvon", which is a story based on Lady Caroline Lamb's love for Lord Byron, is an account of the romantic union, and quest of two poetic natures for the ideal of a perfect love, and of their destruction by the whirlwinds of passion in which the quest involved them. Calantha (Lady Caroline) a sort of Celtic priestess, married to Lord Avondale, a sober, upright, handsome man, of value to the state, and a loving husband, leaves him after long struggles for Glenarvon (Lord Byron). In him we have the new hero of the romantic quest, differing greatly from the preceding types in that he is far more fascinating, with a heart to his mystery which is perhaps as difficult of solution and yet as tempting to experiment as Hamlet's mystery itself. Glenarvon is described as a handsome melancholy lover, something of a victim of his own romantic nature, and doomed by a kind of fate to be the ruin of those who love him. Though he has caused the death or insanity of several ladies, he produces so violent an infatuation in Calantha that she decides to fly with him, and give up her friends and family for a pure and natural love. The result for her is abandonment and death, and for Glenarvon, after a flame of illegitimate passion, complete disillusion, a frenzied seizing on Irish revolt (Lady Caroline had evidently been reading Lucas' "The Infernal Quixote", and thought fit to add certain traits of Marauder, such as Irish treason, and Robin Hood robberies to the character of her hero), as something with which to stimulate his jaded appetite for sensation, he is finally killed in a battle between the English and the Dutch, and his soul departs on a black ship. A hero of passion, appealing somewhat by his very satanic recklessness, and somewhat by his romantic beauty, he is chiefly attractive because of a melancholy of disillusion, a pathetic

homelessness, inviting to the instinct of chivalry and protection.

This innocent exterior, however, Lady Caroline would have us understand, is but a mask for an evil disposition, volcanic temper, and insatiable egotism. Personified desire and lust in the figure of a melancholy, poetic boy, the romantic quest poetized and made into the demonic urge of Evil, such is her portrayal of the Byronic hero, Glenarvon.

A stormy youth, fond of lightning, storms, and high cliffs against which the sea is madly beating, a hero who can look untroubled on madmen, and with the romantic craving that can never be satisfied, a craving that demands and receives new victims till his love is satiated, and then flings them aside ruthlessly and goes on to the next questing ever for an ideal which no woman can satisfy, such a hero, child of the Revolution, is a far cry from the sentimental rake of the eighteenth century. The contrast between the wiles of Lovelace, and the romantic abandon of the following speech of Glenarvon to Calantha shows something of what a revolutionary philosophy and a romantic quest had added, to glorify the eighteenth century's villain of passion, and make of him in the nineteenth century a hero of romance and infinite desire. Says Glenarvon to Calantha at the crisis of their passion,

"There is a rite accounted infamous among Christians: -- there is an oath which it is terrible to take. By this, by this alone I will have you bound to me -- not here alone, but if there be a long hereafter, then shall we evermore be linked together: then shall you be mine far more, far dearer than either mistress or bride. It is, I own, a mere mockery of superstition; but what on earth deserves a higher name? Every varying custom, and every long established form, whether in our own land or those far distant tracts which the foot of man has rarely traversed, deserves no higher name. The customs of our forefathers, the habit of years, give a venerable and sacred appearance to many rites; but all is a dream, the mere colouring of fancy, the frail perishable attempts of human invention. Even the love we feel, Calantha, the beaming fires which now stimulate our hearts and raise us

above others is but illusion, like the bright exhalations which appear to mislead, then vanish and leave us more gloomy than before."¹

Artistically a poor imitation of what Byron had produced in *Child Harold*, and was shortly to produce in *Don Juan*, "*Glenarvon*" none the less gives us in outline the Byronic hero of the quest, poetized, passionate, romantic, disillusioned, somewhat Satanic, with the cruelty of youth, but more or less appealing even in that cruelty.

The violence of the attacks of Walker and Lucas, and the obviously personal venom of Lady Caroline's portrait of the Byronic hero, could not however, maintain itself at their heat of indignation. The times themselves were too dynamic for reaction, and after Waterloo, truculent denunciation became less frequent. Something of the added favor which after 1815 began to be accorded to the erstwhile despized perfectibilians, revolutionary philosophers, and back-to-nature enthusiasts, is reflected in the novels of the classicist, conservative, and friend of Shelley, Thomas Love Peacock. Here the red flames of revolt find themselves domiciled at a comfortable country fireside, and early hatreds become softened to mere quixotic fads and foibles. The well-bred humour of Peacock's portraits of Byron, Shelley, and Coleridge, is even today popular as the comment of high comedy on the characters and careers of the heroes of the romantic quest.

In "*Headlong Hall*" (1816), Peacock produces a light, talkative satire directed against perfectibilians, deteriorationists, statu-quo-ites, epicureans, and orthodox theologians. There are several heroes personifying these quixotic or romantic pursuits or positions. Mr. Foster, the perfectibilian, is a man of thirty who maintains that everything about him

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Lady Caroline Lamb, *Glenarvon*, Bk. II, pp. 296-7.

attests the progress of mankind in the arts of life, and in general their gradual advancement toward a state of unlimited perfection. This cheerful view of human affairs is opposed by Mr. Escat, the deteriorationist, a still younger man, who contends that this seeming progress can but result in general wretchedness, for though improvements proceed in a simple ratio of acceleration, the factitious wants which they engender proceed in a compound one. The result must therefore be an increase in the violence of men's desires, and the final extermination of the species. Mr. Jenkinson, the statu-quo-ite, takes a middle ground. Though things appear to fluctuate, yet the total sum of good and evil, happiness and misery, remain exactly the same in statu quo. Thus each contender finds in nature his own previous conceptions made good. The moral is a dark one. The suggestion is enigmatic, but perhaps it is itself the romantic one that nature presents you with the mystery which you are seeking for; but no matter what you seek, or think you find, the result will be mysterious, and to a wise man the subject for light laughter over the tea cups. Some such flippancy as that is Peacock's pleasingly cynical view of the heroes of the romantic quest.

In "Nightmare Abbey" (1818), Peacock shows greater zest and increased ease in comprehending and satirizing the hero of romantic quest. He here gives the portraits of three of its greatest individuals, Shelley, Coleridge, and Byron, and anatomizes their melancholy and romantic longing with piquant irony.

Nightmare Abbey is the family mansion of Mr. Glowry, a gentleman who had been crossed in love, and who had become melancholy and cynical as a result. His son Scythrop (Shelley), he named after an ancestor who had hanged himself one rainy day in a fit of *taedium vitae*, and of whose skull

Mr. Glowry had made a punch bowl. The son, Scythrop, very much like his father, becomes an emotional poet and falls in love with two women at the same time, loses them both, and threatens to commit suicide, but when he finds that the clock has gone ahead an hour after the time set for the suicide, decides to live and rail at womenskind with his "atrabilarious" father. Scythrop is a sentimentalist who works up nightmares, and Sorrows-of-Werther episodes while wandering about the castle alone, and has a passion for reforming the world. He sleeps with "the Horrid Mysteries under his pillow, and dreams of venerable eleutherarchs and ghastly confederates holding midnight conventions in subterranean caves". He eventually decides that "a few to think, and many to act; that is the only basis of perfect society"; and from this premise, he gets up an article which he publishes to call the "few" together. Only seven copies are sold, but "seven is a mystical number, and the omen is good. "Let me" he says, "find the seven purchasers of my seven copies, and they shall be the seven golden candlesticks with which I will illuminate the world." In the end, of course, he accomplishes nothing. He has no moral standards, as most of his troubles are due to the fact that he wants two women at once, and can not bring himself to give up one for the other.

Among the visitors who frequent Nightmare Abbey is Mr. Flosky (a corruption of Filosky, i.e., a lover or spectator of shadows). Peacock's description of him is intended as a portrait of Coleridge, "a very lachrymose and morbid gentleman of some note in the literary world, but in his own estimation of much more merit than name". His sense of the grim and tearful recommended him to Mr. Glowry, and no one had a finer sense of the Mysterious than he. "He lived in the midst of that visionary world in which nothing is but what is not . . . He had been in his youth an

enthusiast for liberty, and had hailed the dawn of the French Revolution as the promise of a new day that was to banish war and slavery and every form of vice and misery, from the face of the earth." "Because all this was not done, he deduced that nothing was done; . . . that the overthrow of the feudal fortresses of tyranny and superstition was the greatest calamity that had ever overtaken mankind; and that their only hope now was to rake the rubbish together, and rebuild it without any of those loopholes by which the light had originally crept in. To qualify himself for . . . this laudable task, he plunged into the central opacity of Kantian metaphysics, and lay perdu several years in transcendental darkness, till the common daylight of common sense became intolerable to his eyes. He called the sun an ignis fatuus; and exhorted all to shelter themselves from its delusive radiance in the obscure haunt of Old Philosophy."¹ The philosophical quest of Flosky Peacock examines with seeming earnestness. Flosky, Peacock says, prefers synthetic to analytical reasoning, as it sets up processesⁱⁿ which you "are perfectly sure of losing your way, and of keeping your mind in perfect health, by the perpetual exercise of an interminable quest; and for these reasons I have christened my eldest son Emanuel Kant Flosky."²

One other hero of the romantic quest appears in "Nightmare Abbey". Mr. Cypress (Byron) is represented as a misanthrope, but with very little of Byron's genius to make him palatable. He says in a typical speech, "I have no hope for myself or for others. Our life is a false nature; it is not in the harmony of things; it is an all-blasting upas, whose root is earth, and whose leaves are the skies which rain their poison-dews upon

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Thos. Love Peacock, Nightmare Abbey (1818), Chaps. I and II.

2

Ibid, Chap. VI.

mankind. We wither from our youth; we gasp with unslaked thirst for unattainable good; lured from the first to the last by phantoms -- love, fame, ambition, avarice --all idle, and all ill -- one meteor of many names, that vanishes in the smoke of death."¹

And in a later passage on love, Mr. Cypress adds to the picture of romantic melancholy by remarking, "Human love! Love is not an inhabitant of the earth. We worship him as the Athenians did their unknown God: but broken hearts are the martyrs of his faith, and the eye shall never see the form which phantasy paints and which passion pursues through the paths of delusive beauty, among flowers whose odours are agonies, and trees whose gums are poison."

"Mr. Hilary -- You talk like a Rosicrusian, who will love nothing but a sylph, who does not believe in the existence of a sylph, and who yet quarrels with the whole universe for not containing a sylph." After this witticism, Mr. Hilary goes on to remark that men of real genius don't usually pursue the shadow when there is a substance at hand to achieve; that Shakespeare was a cheerful person, and Socrates was jovial. This sort of optimism, however, fails to make a favorable impression among the sentimentalists.

"Mr. Toobad: How can we be cheerful with the Devil among us?

"The Honourable Mr. Listless: How can we be cheerful when our nerves are shattered?

"Mr. Flosky: How can we be cheerful when we are surrounded by a reading public that is growing too wise for its betters?

"Scythrop: How can we be cheerful when our great general designs are crossed every moment by our little particular passions?"

"Mr. Cypress: How can we be cheerful in the midst of disappointment and despair?"

"Mr. Glowry: Let us all be unhappy together.

"Mr. Hilary: Let us sing a catch."¹

Peacock's objections to the heroes of the romantic quest are thus seen to be a good deal removed in tone from the deadly serious fears for society which Walker and Lucas exhibited in the stress of political battle. Here we have the new hero satirized as a poetical rather than a political ideal. Peacock objects with common sense and a good natured raillery to the romanticists' excess of emotion, to their sham melancholy, to their pursuit of dream-like ideals without attending to any machinery to put them into effect, to their immorality in the relations of the sexes, to their chase after shadows, the never ending quest of infinite desire, and to the lack of a critical objectivity or a saving grace of humour sufficient to rescue them from excess and sentimentality. His theme, then, is the follies of romanticism; his hero the romantic dreamer lost in philosophical shadows, melancholy, and emotional glamour; and the quest which his heroes pursue is the romantic one of infinite desire, poetised and beautified, but cankered by loneliness and insatiable longing.

Little else remains in English fiction that was important in developing either the romantic quest or any new view of the hero of romance until Disraeli in 1826 and Bulwer Lytton in 1827 revived the theme in good earnest. Scott's romanticism is one of adventure, of the buff-jerkin business of picturesque historical costumes and details of scene, and of the romance of war, plumed knights, crusades, and the movements of society in mass, in types, in totality, of Covenanters, Turks, and Saracens. But

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Ibid, Chap. XI.

his heroes are not primarily heroes of the romantic quest, not naturalistic, not pantheistic, and not filled with the nostalgia of desire which was typical of so much of the romanticism of his day. He deals with surfaces, with the clash of ideals, and types, and with the recreation of the historically remote and therefore picturesque event or character, but seldom with the soul, with the individual as an infinite mystery, or with life as a romantic quest of wonder and desire. Psychological analysis, subtlety, the unveiling of the solitudes and terrors of the heart, in brief the subjective was not Scott's forte, and without these or some of these, the romantic quest is apt to remain a superficial romanticism, not profound, not a master passion, and not of much influence in moulding the character of such a type as the one under discussion. Healthier than Byron, Scott is however, less significant of the romanticism of his age, and compared with Byron's Don Juan, his Edward Waverley seems simple and realistic.

Maturin's "Melmoth" (1820) has been mentioned as carrying on the tradition of supernatural traffic with the forces of nature, but it adds little of any new naturalistic ideals. In 1823 Lady Caroline Lamb adds one more thrust at the Byronic hero as the Spirit of Evil in her novel "Ada Reis", and in 1822 Christopher North had written his "Trials of Margaret Lyndsay", trials chiefly induced by the Tom-Paine radicalism of her father and his desertion of his family for a woman of low morals. It is a belated attack in a minor, Tory way on the ideals of the French Revolution, but chiefly valuable for its portrayal of the stability and sweetness of the character of Margaret. Poetry, however, makes glorious the interlude in the novel's romanticism, and there the hero of the quest is indeed triumphant. Byron's Childe Harold, Don Juan, Manfred, Cain,

Mazeppa, fiery rebels, and melancholy lovers of passion and infinite desire, fronting fate, and desiring to mingle with the universe and feel themselves at one with Titanic nature; Shelley's Alastor, the spirit of solitude (which Peacock told him was an evil spirit), Prometheus, the hero of nature's forces at war with the gods for man's sake, and the subtle aspiring spirit of infinite outreaching in his poetry; Keats' nympholeptic longing in La Belle Dame Sans Merci, and in Lamia, are but some of the various forms of beauty produced during these few years which are typical of romanticism and of the hero of the romantic quest.

What then may it be said was the course of development of the hero of the romantic quest in the roles of perfectibilian and naturalist during the thirty years from 1792 on? Starting in Holcroft and Godwin with an implicit faith in Rousseau's golden age of nature as the main spring of their thought, they proceed to show how society may be made over so as to enable men to achieve so happy a state. To show this they created such characters of the quest for perfectibility as Anna St. Ives and Frank Henley, or as Caleb Williams and St. Leon. But the course of the revolution in France shattered the program of social perfectibility as Godwin and Holcroft had dreamed of it, and drove them and their heroes to seek a more individual solace in nature, in reverie, and in an idyllic pantheism of solitude and poetic rapture. Bage's Hermsprong, Mrs. Inchbald's heroes from the wilds of Africa, Godwin's Fleetwood, and the flights to the wilderness of America depicted in the attacks of Walker's Vagabond, and Lucas' Infernal Quixote, all reveal this recoil from politics, and a turning to nature itself for solace from disappointed hopes. Continuing attacks on the schemes for perfectibility, and on the imaginative and emotional excesses of the romantic quest together with a

turning toward realism and common sense, characterize the fiction from 1800 to 1815. With Waterloo one notices a change of attitude. The attacks of Caroline Lamb and Peacock are of a milder order. The influence of the poetic ideals of Coleridge, Byron, and Shelley begin to make themselves felt; romanticism is again coming into favor, though with new ideals, and questing no longer toward a Godwinian perfectibility. The romantic quest is thus in spite of some lapses firmly established as a dominating motive in English fiction, and the hero who embodies the quest is become a clearly defined type. His *élan* assumes various forms, a thirst to regenerate society by a return to the golden age of natural perfectibility, or the forms of melancholy, irony, aspiration, passion, Pantheistic desire, or, Titanic naturalism. But fundamental traits unite the different characters, and under their diversities reveal the hero of the romantic quest, outreaching, aspiring, pursuing an infinite hope with passion, and the yearning of an insatiable worship.

And so to recall some of the heroes of the type developed in the novels of these forty years in the Gothic Romance and in the novels of Perfectibility and Naturalism, there rises to view a remarkable, even a somewhat distinguished company. Vathek, Zeluco, Schedoni, Ambrosio the Monk, St. Leon, Frankenstein, Melmoth the Wanderer, Salathiel the Immortal, appear in the Gothic Romance; and in the other novels, Anna St. Ives, Frank Henley, Caleb Williams, Hugh Trevor, Hermsprong, St. Leon, The Vagabond, Marauder the Infernal Quixote, Adeline Mowbray, the Fair Cherubina, Calantha and Glenarvon, and finally Byron, Shelley, and Coleridge in Peacock's Mr. Cypress, Scythrop, and Mr. Flosky. Certainly no man could be dull in such a company, a fact soon to be realized by Disraeli and Bulwer Lytton, and turned to good account by them in the heroes and novels with which they closed the third decade of the century,

and ushered in fresh ideals and a rejuvenated romance. With the third decade, then, the period of experimentation ends. The type is definitely established. What remains is to reveal the new ideals, and new quests for romantic delight which the heroes of succeeding decades felt to be their destiny, and to note as well the effect of the new aspirations on the character and imaginative development of these heroes.

CHAPTER THREE.

THE REHABILITATION, TEMPORARY DECLINE, AND FINAL TRIUMPH OF
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If many of the characters mentioned in preceding chapters have been long forgotten by most readers of English fiction, only a few like *Vathek*, *Frankenstein*, *Werther*, or the Byronic hero having now any general reputation, such a criticism does not hold of the types appearing after the year 1830. For with Disraeli and Bulwer Lytton in England, and with Balzac and Hugo in France, some of the greater writers of fiction turned to the theme. About 1830 or a little earlier, the romanticism which since the 1790's had in English fiction lain more or less quiescent, again came into prominence. Shelley and Byron began its revival in their Promethean and Byronic heroes in the twenties. The popularity of these poetical figures, and the tradition of the romantic quest which for the last forty years had been running through the minor novels of gothicism, perfectibility, and naturalism, combined to instruct the new writers of fiction in the possibility of the genre. With the new era, therefore, the period of experimentation has largely passed, and a period of variety in characterization, and of flexibility in adapting the quest to the ideals of the new age succeeds. Some of the old quests like perfectibility and its back-to-nature utopianism reappear in a new guise and with a differing emphasis. Gothicism, however, tends to lose popularity, and with a final brilliant revival in Lytton's "*Zanoni*", disappears. New dream ideals replace it, and we may now look to see heroes whose summum bonum is art, or gipsyism, or nympholepsy, or mysticism, or the redemption of an enslaved class or race, such as the enslaved laborer, or negro, or the exiled Jew.

By the year 1825 the French Revolution was receding into the background, and the oppression of the lower classes caused by the conservative

reaction of the preceding decades was crying aloud for reform. Poor laws, prison laws, corn laws, and the penal code, all needed, and were shortly to receive, as in the Reform Bill of 1832, some correction. To the novelists, these "mirrors of the public conscience", as Lytton called them, was due much of the credit for first reflecting the poor condition of the laborers. And as a preliminary to these practical reforms there were visionary schemes, romantic quests for perfectibility, glorified revolutionists, who caught the public imagination, and prepared the public mind for the coming changes. Something like this was the role of the Byronic coxcombs of Disraeli and Lytton, who, perfumed and aestheticized though they were, had underneath their glitter an insatiable desire for political power, and for the improvement of social conditions. The Godwinian abstractions by which Anna St. Ives and St. Leon deduced perfectibility are much less a part of the mental baggage of the new heroes of romantic perfectibility than of the old, but the vision of a world regenerated by a superman and a perfect social formula still lingers. To the character of these new perfectibilians, Byronism has added a dash of the demonic. The result is a far livelier and more human hero of romance, though it is in this addition that there lurked the sensationalism and exaggerated interest in sex which in Lytton's novels was for a time to impede the growth of the hero of the romantic quest.

I.

THE AMALGAMATION OF THE EARLIER QUESTS IN DISRAELI'S "VIVIAN GREY" 1826-7.

This amalgamation of Byronism and perfectibility Disraeli¹ first set forth in his "Vivian Grey" (1826-7), a novel whose immediate success duplicated that of Byron, and made him famous at twenty-two.² Vivian Grey is a kind of composite in character of Caroline Lamb's Glenarvon, and of Holcroft's and Peacock's heroes of artistry and perfectibility. The Byronic qualities reveal themselves in his pert, dashing genius with its picturesque glitter

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For an excellent treatment of the biographical elements which Disraeli put into his heroes, and for an account of the vogue of his novels, see Wm. F. Monypenny, The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, V.I (1804-1837), pub. 1910, chaps. VI, X, XV; V.II. (1837-1846), chaps. VII, IX; and *Ibid.* by W.F. Monypenny and G. E. Buckle, V.III (1846-1855), chap. II. The biographers there lay some stress on the soaring imagination, and insatiable ambition and idealism of Disraeli's heroes, but do little to show the literary and romantic sources of Disraeli's conception, or its general relations to similar heroes in fiction.

2

Cross in his Development of the English Novel, pp. 172-4, says of "Vivian Grey" and "Pelham" that they were "novels of high life that skimmed the surface of things", and in his descriptions of these two heroes emphasizes their foppery, coolness, impudence, and flattery. In like vein Holliday in his English Fiction calls "Pelham" a "brilliant society story", and of "Vivian Grey" he remarks that Disraeli admired his hero because it was his own portrait. (pp. 301, 314). The theme of the romantic quest which seems to me an important basis for these characters, and which unites them historically with an heroic type-character, historians of fiction and critics of the novel neglect somewhat unduly. These heroes have more personal and historical significance than mere fops or flatterers could have. Indeed historians of fiction in general give the novels of Lytton and Disraeli somewhat slighting attention, reserving their heavy artillery for Scott, Dickens, Thackeray, etc. In a literary sense this is no doubt justifiable, but from an historical point of view perhaps as much is to be learned of the times and the ideals of the times from the minor as from the major novelists. This is especially true in this study of the romantic hero, as from 1835 until 1850, the mantle of romanticism rested with the minor novelists. Any general systematic plotting of the course of the romantic novel during the nineteenth century, and especially any study of the heroic types or ideals of those novels, is a task still awaiting completion.

and pose, its fresh love of art, music, natural scenery, foreign travel amid the ruins of empires, and thirst for gay society. Perfectibility, more lightly stressed, is revealed in Vivian's rejecting his worldly-wise father's advice to go to Oxford, and in his plunging at nineteen into a quest for political power. In this quest he attempts to overthrow a parliamentary faction in order to set himself up as a liberator and genius of reform instead. He looks on himself as born to embody the reform bill, and longs for the perfectibility of human society which he feels that his political genius will be able to bring about. "Perfectibility is a pretty dream", his father tells him, but not apt to come till our "moral powers increase in proportion to our physical ones".¹ And by way of prophecy he remarks that the thirst for sudden wealth and the violent spirit of the age stalk abroad like the Daemon in Frankenstein, and will destroy any idealism in politics. Vivian, however, has a lust for power, and pictures himself as the genius born to lead men out of bondage. There is needed only courage," and does Vivian Grey know fear?" he asked himself, and "laughed an answer of bitterest derision".²

Vivian's bravado, however, is not successful in accomplishing the overturn of the Tories and the liberation of the poor. The quest for the ideal is wrecked by the jealousy and intrigue of a woman. This woman, Mrs. Felix Lorraine (a mock portrait of Lady Caroline Lamb),³ is driven by the

¹ Benjamin Disraeli, Vivian Grey (1826-7), Bk. I, chap. IX.

² Ibid., Bk. I, chap. VIII.

³ For an account of the historical characters supposedly referred to in Disraeli's novels, see Robert Arnot, A Biographical Preface to the Earls Edition of "Vivian Grey" (1904). For a good account of the literary background which produced Disraeli's novels, see Edmund Gosse, A Critical Introduction to the same edition; and for a modern review of Disraeli's three periods as a novelist, and the biographical elements of his heroes, see Mr. Gosse's The Novels of Benjamin Disraeli, Some Diversions of a Literary Man (1919), pp. 151-181.

demonic urge of a German temperament to adore and then to loathe Vivian Grey. Poison, and hypnotic mesmerism, and an attempt to win Vivian to her will by moonlight stories of magic mirrors, water nymphs, and hints of the romantic quest agitating birds, fawns, murderers, and lovers alike, all fail to subdue Vivian to her desires or to win him away from his political quest. Mrs. Felix Lorraine then plays her last card, and reveals his plans to the opposition; Vivian is read out of his party, and his career is ruined. With him fall the friends who based their hopes on his success. This catastrophe hurts his vanity, and throws him into doubts as to the spirituality of his quest. "Am I, then," he asks himself, "an intellectual Don Juan, reckless of human minds as he was of human bodies; a spiritual libertine?....Am I entitled to play with other men's fortunes; or am I all the time deceiving myself with some wretched sophistry?"¹ Though Vivian decides this query in his own favor, fate has decided the matter otherwise. Now that his schemes are exposed, his friends desert him, and as a climax he is compelled to fight a duel with the baffled lion who was to have been the leader of the now defunct party. In this duel Vivian had the ill luck to kill his opponent. Life abroad was the only recourse after such a disaster; and so at twenty Vivian's career in Parliament and as a perfectibilian closed. In a love affair, an intrigue, and a duel, the first romantic quest of Disraeli's hero thus came to an end.

Like Byron's, however, Vivian's love of romance did not cease with his departure from England. The world was all before him, and its variety lured him on. Vivian now felt that "he must meet mankind with different feelings and view their pursuits with a different interest. He woke from his secret sorrow in as changed a state of being as the water nymph from her first embrace; and he woke with a new possession, not only as miraculous as Undine's soul, but gained at as great a price, and leading to as bitter results. The nymph woke

¹ Ibid. Bk.III, chap. V.

to new pleasures and to new sorrows; and innocent as an infant she deemed mankind a god, and the world a paradise. Vivian Grey discovered that his deity was but an idol of brass, and his Garden of Eden but a savage waste; for, if the river nymph had gained a soul, he had gained Experience."¹

Though this experience shatters his faith in his genius, as a hero of a romantic quest to liberate mankind, it does not yet disturb his faith in the possibility of his enjoying a new quest. "The vain bubble still glitters and still allures, and must forever", the author remarks, and adds, as a preface to Vivian's romantic adventures abroad, "Vivian Grey was now about to join for the second time the great and agitated crowd of beings who are all intent in the search of that undiscoverable talisman, Happiness. That he entertained any hope of being the successful inquirer is not to be imagined. He considered that the happiest moment in human life is exactly the sensation of a sailor who has escaped a shipwreck, and that the mere belief that his wishes are to be indulged is the greatest bliss enjoyed by man."² In other words, for Vivian now, pursuit, the quest itself, is superior to possession.

What, then, are the romantic pursuits which engage Vivian during his travels abroad? State affairs, society, literature, nature, art, and love, all in turn he takes up in hopes to satiate the desires of his aspiring temperament. In state affairs he is merely a kind of advisory *deus ex machina*; there is no danger in it and no reward; and of these missions in a small German principality, Vivian soon tires. The society of the gay and the witty, beauty of person and dress, and exotic flowers and food charm him for a time, but only for a time. They seem lacking in content, empty, vain, unsatisfying. What of the life of nature? Perhaps there is the answer to his need. Among the glittering conversations with which the book abounds, there is one on Rousseau's views of nature, comparing the sentiments to be had from nature

¹ Ibid. Bk. V, chap. I.

² Ibid. Bk. V, chap. I.

worship with those to be gained from the worship of art, religion, or love. A remarkable story of a gambler checked in mid-career by the sight of the Bay of Naples on a moonlit night, impresses him for a time with the moral healing power of natural objects. But experience fails to allay the thirst of his nature. In love he is scarcely more fortunate. His first lady, the frail Violet Fane dies in his arms as he kisses her; and his second love, it turns out, is the daughter-in-law elect of the Kingdom of Little Lilliput, and Vivian is given twenty-four hours to leave the Kingdom.¹ After so many failures to attain anything to quiet the passion of his desires, it is not surprising that Vivian Grey, still in the early twenties came to view himself as a child of fortune, a victim of the caprice of circumstance. "I am not," he says, "I am not the master of my own conduct. I recognize in every contingency the predestination of my fate."² And so without an end, the novel ends, leaving Vivian still on his quest, a wanderer journeying toward Vienna, a kind of discarded Don Juan of art and love and politics, journeying on to an insignificant end amid the ruins of fallen empires and forgotten grandeurs.

Slight as this novel may seem today, though its verve and artistry are still fresh and dashing, in its own day its effect was quite out of proportion to its quality as a work of art. It struck the note desired by a time too long suppressed by political reaction. The new themes of romance, the pathos of a broken questing genius, the hollowness of a political lust for power and its cynical disregard for the rights of humanity, the quest for a dream world in art, or in social life, in beauty of dress or person, all these which had been vocal in poetry, Disraeli gave for the first time a large place in English

¹In Mackenzie's Man of Feeling (1772) the death of the hero Harley at his moment of greatest joy was merely sentimental. Disraeli, portraying a similar scene of the death of Violet Fane at the moment of her betrothal, finds in it a source of poetry and romance. "The violent death of a woman, young, lovely, and innocent, is assuredly the most terrible of tragedies," (Vivian Grey, Bk.V, chap;X.) he says, - a passage which may have suggested to Poe his famous dictum that the death of a beautiful girl was of all themes the most poetic.

²Ibid. Bk.VI, chap. VII.

fiction. The result for him was what it had been for Byron, fame. The amount to which Disraeli had saturated himself with the English and German romanticism which preceded him, has been little noted. "Vivian Grey", however, is crowded with references to earlier romantic heroes, themes, and quests, and even a slight tabulation of these references gives some notion of the influences which he here tried to combine in the character of his new hero.¹ Yet, though it was built on a foundation of the romances of the preceding decades, it had a new glitter and finish of its own, and Vivian Grey is a more complex even if shallower hero than the earlier romantic types. The historians of fiction admit the novel's enormous influence, emphasizing chiefly its foppishness, coxcombry, and dazzle, and the coolness, impudence and flattery of the hero;² or the epigrammatic brilliance of its conversation and criticism, and the egotism of

¹cf. allusions in Vivian Grey to romances and romantic elements preceding it, as follows: Bk. I, chap. IX alludes to perfectibility, and to Mrs. Shelley's Frankenstein; Bk. II, chap. IX to Tom Moore's views of nature, to Patsch's Forest, and to Vivian's desire to make a bargain with Mephistopheles; chap. XIII to Goethe's Sorrows of Werther; Bk. III chap. IV to the mysterious painting that had an occult relation to the beautiful boy whom it represented, and whose death it caused (cf. as a basis for Oscar Wilde's Dorian Grey, 1890); chap. V to Don Juan; chap. VI to the temperament of Lady Caroline Lamb as portrayed in Mrs. Felix Lorraine, and to the Undine legend of a sympleptic bride; chap. VIII to Chateaubriand's fading popularity; Bk. IV, chap. I to Byron's nostalgia and his quest for romantic glory in Greece as a means to regain his lost repute in England; and to Horace Walpole's "delightful" romanticism; Bk. V chap. I to the world as a romantic quest for happiness; chap. VIII to the relative propriety of making man's place in nature sentimental or scientific, and to the power of nature to reform the ruined soul; chap. XIV to the fall of Vivian's house of cards as being like that of Vathek's tower (which blew down for the second time in 1825); and Bk. VI, chap. VII to a soliloquy on life as a romantic quest, and to a notion of genius as a creature of a gigantic fate, puppet-led to joy or to destruction.

Disraeli in painting so frank an image of himself as Vivian Grey was, and his vanity in worshipping his own image.¹ What is not usually indicated, however, is the general family relationship in which Vivian Grey is only a new scion of the old stock, an expansive, romantic egoist, bent on the quest of some dream ideal, shattering himself against the limitations of his own nature, and ending only as one more victim of the insatiable quest. Then too, the new dream ideals which Vivian found alluring, the histories say little of, - the emphasis on art, on the aesthetic lure of nature, on German romantic legend, and on the Don Juan-like necessity of Vivian's nature that leads him into a hatred of the commonplace, and to the pursuit of a dream ideal.

¹Carl Holliday, English Fiction (1912), chap. VII, pp. 314-16.

THE ADDITION OF WERTHERISM AND NIMPHOLEPSY TO THE CHARACTER OF THE NEW
HERO IN LYTTON'S "FALKLAND" 1827.

The year 1827 which saw the completion of Disraeli's "Vivian Grey" was marked by the entrance of another novelist into the arena of romance and reform. Bulwer Lytton,¹ who belonged to a debating society with J. S. Mill, and was fond of Bentham and the younger utilitarians, and whose candidacy for Parliament Godwin approved, made his first spectacular appearance in fiction with his novel "Falkland" (1827). This novel, which Lytton called his Sorrows of Werther, continued the vogue of Byronic dandyism and the dream of the perfectibility of man by political formulae. Falkland differs from Vivian Grey in his greater tendency to melancholy, a melancholy more Werther-like than Byronic, and in his tendency to find in nature the visionary nymph of his boyish fancy. The theme of the novel is Falkland's quest for happiness through literature, politics, nature, seduction, and war. The end is satiety and death.²

The story begins Byronically, with Falkland, a hermit-like youth, of fair and pale complexion, noble brow, and auburn antique curls, a restless, outreaching genius, who hates society, and is addicted to melancholy and solitude. These traits are the more remarkable, in that they do not seem to be hereditary, as Falkland's father "was a great country gentleman, a great sportsman, and a great Tory, perhaps the three worst enemies that a country can have." Falkland, however, was of an ideal, dreamy nature, fond of the "stillness of

¹For an account of the popularity of Lytton's early works, and the evil social conditions which it was their quest to reform, see the Earl of Lytton, The Life of Edward Bulwer, First Lord Lytton (1913), Bk.III, chap.I.

²Of Falkland historians and critics of fiction say little except that it is an example of Wertherism and dandyism (Cf. C.W. Young, Camb.Hist.Eng.Lit. V.XIII, chap.XIII.), and they then pass at once to a discussion of "his second and best novel" (ibid) Pelham of the next year. As a hero of the romantic quest, however, Falkland, like Godwin's hero for whom he is named, deserves emphasis. In the addition of Wertherism and nympholepsy to the qualities of Vivian Grey, and in his greater tendency to sentimentalize romance, Falkland is an indication of a new tendency in fiction.

the great woods, and of the solitudes unbroken by human footstep".¹ Orphaned early, Falkland spends several wild and fruitless years in one of the badly managed boy's schools of the day (Dr. Arnold's reforms were only just beginning). At school he was popular with the boys, and yet "a stranger". Returning from school to his estates he read many romances, and had a violent and mysterious love affair. The girl of his dreams, however, died suddenly, and he bore this "secret sorrow" as a life-long remorse. This secret sorrow was the source of his restless craving and satiety. "I carried with me," Falkland says, "one unceasing remembrance, which was to teach me, like Faustus, to find nothing in knowledge but its inutility, or in hope but its deceit; and to bear like him through the blessings of youth and the allurements of pleasure, the curse and the presence of a fiend."² "And so", he continues, "from the moment in which the buoyancy of my spirit was first broken by real anguish, the losses of the heart were repaired by the experiences of the mind. I passed at once, like Helmoth, from youth to age----I had exhausted years in moments----I had wasted like the Eastern Queen, my richest jewel in a draught.----Women, wine, the society of the gay, the commune of the wise, the lonely pursuit of knowledge, the daring visions of ambition, all have occupied me in turn, and all alike have taught me to seek content in solitude."

Nevertheless he again abandons the ivory tower of this romantic solitude, and goes to Oxford. There he wastes three years, returns home, and after again finding his estates too dull to endure them - despite his passion for solitude - he goes abroad in quest of happiness. Melancholy, however, has made of Falkland a child of disillusion. He sees beneath human surfaces into the motives that lie beneath; he discovers that all is hollow, and becomes a confirmed cynic, sad, brilliant, beautiful, and bitter. From this self-devouring egotism he attempts to shake himself loose on learning from Mme.

¹ Bulwer Lytton, Falkland (1827), Bk. I.

² Ibid. Bk. I.

de Stael that "the education of life perfects the thinking mind, but depraves the frivolous". As Falkland prefers not to be shallow, he turns from Wertherism to humanitarianism, to a love of mankind in the mass, though individually he confesses he finds men hard to endure. To his single friend Monkton, at this turn from melancholy to perfectibility he writes, "While smarting beneath the treachery of friendship, the sting of ingratitude, the faithlessness of love, we would almost sacrifice our lives to realize some idolized theory of legislation; and though distrustful, selfish, calculating in private, there are thousands who would, with a credulous fanaticism, fling themselves as victims before the unrecompensing Moloch which they term the Public."¹ Loving mankind in the mass, however, does not turn out well. He is as dissatisfied as ever. The applause of the populace also is "hollow". He therefore turns from man to nature, as Godwin's Fleetwood and the earlier perfectibilians had done when their schemes failed.

In turning from man to nature it is here to be noted that Lytton's Falkland seeks something besides the "voluptuous reverie" which Godwin's Fleetwood had sought there some twenty years earlier. In Disraeli's "Vivian Grey" we have noted some mention of nympholepsy in the tales which Mrs. Felix Lorraine told Vivian and which she had got out of German romantic legend. These hints Lytton here turns to account, and we find his hero turning to nature, there to seek the visionary nymph of his boyish fancy, the lady of his dreams. Earth yields no woman who can embody this visionary ideal, and Falkland is driven

¹ Ibid. Bk. I.

to nature.¹ This nympholepsy or frenzy for an unattainable dream woman Falkland solaces by secret communings with nature, and sometimes fancies himself a Prospero on a desert island surrounded by spirits of the air. There too his quest for the love of mankind seems to be nearer to attaining its goal than when he lived among men. To his surprise he finds that "The people who live most by themselves think most upon others; and he who lives surrounded by the million, never thinks of any but the one individual - himself."

¹The nympholeptic motive in modern English fiction, comparatively rare, here appears for the first time with any degree of prominence. In "Vivian Grey", Bk. III, chap. VI, a repetition of the Undine legend suggests the theme, but Disraeli does not employ it as an important quest until 1832 in "Contarini Fleming". The Oxford Dictionary defines nympholepsy as "a state of rapture supposed to be inspired in men by nymphs; hence an ecstasy or frenzy of emotion, especially inspired by something unattainable." Though this legend seems to have come into English fiction by way of German, Byron in Childe Harold (1818), Bk. IV, 11.115-16, speaks of

A young Aurora of the air
The nympholepsy of some fond despair,

thus showing an acquaintance with the subject earlier than Disraeli's or Lytton's. In the second edition of his Journey (1813), p. 405, J.C. Robbhouse remarks of a character, "he became a nympholept, and thus furnished another tale to be adorned by the fancy of the poet." By the year 1840 DeQuincey in his Speculative and Theological Essays deemed the subject worth considerable attention. He attempts to find its origin in the ancient myths, and suggests ramifications of the idea which are wider than those usually suggested. "Everybody knows", he says, "Everybody knows the superstitions of the ancients about the Nympholeptoi, those who had seen Pan and the nymphs. But far more awful are the existing superstitions throughout Asia and Africa as to the perils of those who are phantom-haunted in the wilderness. The old Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, states them well: he speaks, indeed, of the Eastern or Tartar deserts,-- the steppes which step from European Russia to the footsteps of the Chinese throne; but exactly the same creed prevails amongst the Arabs, from Bagdad to Suez and Cairo--from Rosetta to Tunis--Tunis to Timbuctoo or Mequinez. 'If, during the daytime,' says he, 'any person should remain behind until the caravan is no longer in sight, he hears himself unexpectedly called to by name, and in a voice with which he is familiar. Not doubting that the voice proceeds from some of his comrades, the unhappy man is beguiled from the right direction--- until he perishes miserably.-----'

From this account of the desert traditions in Marco Polo was derived Milton's fine passage in 'Comus' :-

'Of calling shapes, and beckoning shadows dire,
And aery tongues that syllable men's names
On sands, and shores, and desert wildernesses.'

(Thos. DeQuincey, Modern Superstition, Blackwood's Mag., April, 1840).

What then is the outcome of Falkland's nympholepsy and humanitarianism, his longing, akin to that of Schiller, "to clasp the millions to his bosom and bestow a kiss upon the whole world"? As might be surmised, an excess of passion led to an excess of indulgence, rather than to a romantic elysium of nymphs. The hero in his quest for the dream-ideal woman finds her at last not in nature but in the person of the wife of a member of Parliament. Their mutual infatuation, after a brief dream of joy, results in detection. Crushed in disgrace, the dream-lady dies; and Falkland, after a flight abroad, falls in a blaze of glory, fighting for Spanish liberty against the French. Falkland's quest for romantic love, and his belief that surrender to nature alone could give immortal happiness, came about partly through his admiration for Chateaubriand's *Atala*. "I have often thought," he says, "that had the execution of *"Atala"* equalled its design, no human work could have surpassed it in grandeur. What picture is more simple, though more sublime, than the vast solitude of an unpeopled wilderness, the woods, the mountains, the face of nature, cast in the fresh yet giant mould of a new and unpolluted world; and amidst those most silent and mighty temples of the Great God, the lone spirit of Love reigning and brightening over all?"¹ After this too free love destroys Falkland's happiness, he wanders forth like Melmoth, amid lightnings and storms, a ruined, homeless, pilgrim wandering, as he dies, if the quest continues, or if the end is merely---dust. That Lytton should have withdrawn the novel from publication some years later because of its praise of free love merited a temporary reaction against the headlong romanticism of his earlier nympholeptic quest. Vivian Grey, the Byronic perfectibilian broken by an intrigue, a political fiasco and a duel, ended a wanderer vainly seeking some solace amid the ruins of history. Falkland, his successor, is a less daring, less Byronic hero. A Werther-like nympholepsy plunges him in melancholy, and

¹Bulwer Lytton, Falkland (1827), Bk. I.

he is wrecked by the impact of his temperament with the conventionality of an unsympathetic society. The end of his quest, however, is a blaze of glory; he can die fighting for liberty, though in his life he was less heroic than Disraeli's similar hero.

EARLY HINTS OF A MYSTICAL QUEST IN THE ROSICRUCIAN AND EPICUREAN HEROES OF
GEORGE CROLY AND THOS. MOORE 1827.

The revival of the hero of the romantic quest about the year 1827 was further remarkable for its tendency to shift what had been the gothic interest in adventure and supernatural wonders to a deeper spiritual interest in mystical supernaturalism. This tendency was further aided by the interest in remote civilizations and religions aroused by Scott's historical novels. Thus there arose novels designed to contrast Biblical scenes with pagan civilizations, and Christian mysticism with Epicureanism. Horace Smith's "Zillah" (1827), for instance, is a Jewish historical novel with mystical elements in the character of its heroine; and George Croly's "Salathiel the Immortal" of the same year, combines the Wandering Jew theme with the Christian mysteries. There, however, the supernatural interest is on the level of Rosicrucianism rather than on a truly religious level, an interest as intense then, after the Napoleonic wars, as the interest in spiritualism is today after the recent world war. The Rosicrucian hero with immortal gifts we have seen in Colwin's "St. Leon", though there was not there the reverence for mysticism shown in the quest of Salathiel.¹

¹ For an excellent account of Rosicrucianism and Free Masonry, see DeQuincey's then popular Historico Critical Inquiry Into the Origins of the Rosicrucians and the Free Masons, pub. in the London Magazine of 1824, in four instalments. Though DeQuincey (1785-1859) was the author of no novel dealing with a hero of the romantic quest, his interest in mediaevalism, in German romantic legend, and in naturalistic and religious rites was of great influence on the romanticists of the thirties. As the views and content of his work is important in the history of such Rosicrucianism as is found in "Salathiel", and later in Lytton's "Zanoni" (1842), I have here included a summary of his "Historico Critical Inquiry".

CHARACTERISTICS OF ROSICRUCIANS AND FREE MASONS.

- INTERNAL:- (1) Entire equality of personal rights among their members in relation to their final object. In this they resembled the church.
- (2) Women, children, those not in full possession of civic freedom, Jews, anti-Christians, and (at first) Roman Catholics were excluded from the society.

- (3) The orders made pretensions to mysteries.
- (4) The orders had a general system of signs (for recognition), usages, symbols, myths, and festivals.

EXTERNAL:-

(Positively)

- (1) They profess public beneficence, and have had an humanitarian influence.

(Negatively)

- (1) They do not interfere with any civil institution.
- (2) They do not, like the church, impose chastity.
- (3) They do not impose any form of dress, and have no marks of distinction in civil life, no civil offices, no public business.
- (4) Any member may withdraw from the society at will without even the formality of informing the superiors of the lodge. If a member withdraws, he is in honour bound to keep his vows of secrecy, and later, if he wishes to return, he may do so at will. In this ease of exit and return, these orders differ greatly from the old knightly and religious orders.

Rosicrucianism is said to have come from Free Masonry, and indeed is impossible without it, though not identical with it. Both are about three centuries old, and not, as has been surmised, eighteen hundred years in duration. Of the ancient mysteries, the Orphic and Eleusinian alone were like the Rosicrucian mysteries, but the ancient mysteries were religious and sensuous, and not, as in Rosicrucianism and Free Masonry, scientific. The origins of these orders seem to have been as follows. By the year 1600, Cabalism, Theosophy, and Alchemy had spread all over Europe, being especially prevalent in Germany, where it reached the strength of a kind of mania. This mania was chiefly aided by Theophrastus Paracelsus, and all of its disciples believed that the Judgment Day was near at hand. In 1610 three books were published, and it was the publication of these works that is said to have founded Rosicrucianism. These works were (1) The Universal Reformation of the Whole Wide World, (2) Pama Fraternitas of the Meritorious Order of the Rosy Cross: addressed to the learned in general, and to the Governors of Europe, and (3) Confessio Fraternitas Rosae Crucis ad Eruditos Europae. The contents of these books were as follows.

- (1) The Universal Reformation of the Whole Wide World set forth some

eight methods of reform, methods proposed, so it said, by the wise men of Greece.

1. Thales: cut a hole in each man's breast, and insert therein a door or window, so that the world may know of his dishonesty if he commit any.
2. Solon: Divide all wealth up equally.
3. Crito: banish all gold and silver.
4. Xerxes: get rid of all iron, and war will be impossible.
5. Pittacus: pass laws making virtue and merit the sole passports to honour.
6. Bias: keep all nations apart by abolishing bridges, making mountains impassible, and forbidding all navigation.
7. Cato: pray to God to wash away all women from the earth.
8. Seneca: found a secret society whose object shall be the welfare of mankind, an object to be pursued in secret.

As the last method of reform won more approval than any of the others, it was adopted, and the Rosicrucians were the result.

(II) Fama Fraternitas, the second book, is the story of a hero of royal descent, Christian Rosycross, a hero who travelled much in the East, and who on his return, brought back many great mysteries from the Arabians, Chaldeans, etc. Returning to Germany, he therefore founded his secret order of eight persons to whom he revealed the mysteries. The members of the society then dispersed, with the exception of two who remained with Christian Rosycross, with the understanding that they were to reassemble once a year to report on the progress they had made in reforming the world. At length each man had the privilege of appointing his own successor, and it was stipulated that for one hundred years the existence of the order was to remain a secret. At the age of one hundred and six years, Rosycross died, his death being well known to the society, but not his grave, which remained a mystery. The society continued, and the purpose of its members remains to cure the sick without fee or reward.

(III) The Confessio Fraternitas, the third book of the order, contains complete explanations of the order and of its different degrees. This book asserts that the order contained all classes who had a pure and disinterested purpose in their traffic with mankind. The order is here said to have had a peculiar language, and to have become very rich in gold; but it is said

too that philosophy ever remained the true object of the labours of its masters.

DeQuincey thinks that these three books had but one author, and that he was John Valentine Andrea. The books made so great a sensation, that Andrea was forced publically to disown having written them. Their effects, however, could not be disowned, and soon a good many imposters assumed the name of Rosicrucians, and their abuses got so bad, that Andrea finally wrote a satire to kill his own hoax. The result of the satire was not the death of the order, but merely to arouse suspicions among the various members, and so to cause them to separate into a large number of individual orders.

Robert Fluid (1574-1637), brought Rosicrucianism to England under the title of Free Masonry, and there, from 1640 on, it became a definite and continuous order. The objects of the Free Masons were:

1. To found a society of Solomon's Temple whose corner stone is Christ, whose living stones are men, and whose knowledge is mystical Christianity and occult philosophy;
2. To exclude Jews as being enemies of the great Master-builder, ^{Y^h} Christ.
3. To promote religious toleration--an aim greatly to their credit.
4. To exclude politics from their organization, and to work for the glory of God and the service of men.

Refutations that DeQuincey thinks worth mentioning are that (1) Free Masons are not the order of Bacon's Solomon's Temple in "The New Atlantis", as that order was scientific, and not mystic and philosophic. (2) The Free Masons did not try to restore Charles II. (3) Cromwell did not found it, and (4) Free Masonry does not derive from the order of the Knights Templars.

A novel whose interest in mystical rites was perhaps superior to Cröly's "Salathiel", was Thomas Moore's "The Epicurean" (1827). Here heathen quests for mystical knowledge are contrasted with the Christian quest for peace. Moore's hero begins as a world-weary Epicurean, a philosopher of great powers, but dissatisfied at heart with philosophy's inability to answer his questions. Turning from paganism to Christianity, he becomes involved in the wars of the sects, and his life is a quest for the form of religion that is a repository for the truth.¹ Though Thos. Love Peacock in reviewing the book for the Westminster Review in 1827 made game of Moore for sending an Epicurean in quest of immortality as a result of a marvelous dream, when the Epicureans believed in neither dreams nor immortality, these themes, even if not remotely historic, reveal, at any rate, the ideals of 1827. Moore's Epicurean is a romanticist of Moore's own day, who merely happened to get stranded in the reign of Diocletian in the third century, and got involved in the war between Paganism and Christianity. In some ways this novel breaks new ground in English fiction. It brings to the romantic quest new matter for exploration, and a new sense of the possibility of a mystic salvation for the soul in the past of old religions, old loves, and forgotten conflicts. Not perfectibility, or nature, or medievalism, or art are here the themes, but mysticism, the religious translation of the mortal to the immortal, the romantic quest of the soul for a center to the cosmos. Though the story has long been forgotten and finds little or no

¹ Though it is difficult to find any mention of Thomas Moore's "The Epicurean" in histories of modern English fiction, neither Cross, Saintsbury, Holliday, Miss Scarborough, nor Whiteford even mentioning the novel, it made a good deal of a stir in its own day, and was much praised by the critics, and much bought by the public. Four editions in four months, and a royalty of over £700 for Moore by February of 1828, and new editions still in demand as late as 1839, show something of the book's vogue. Moore was an enormous reader, and well versed in romantic ideas. As early as 1820 he had contemplated a poem and a novel on the Egyptian mysteries, induced to attempt it by his reading of the "Fables Egyptiennes" by Pernetz, of a work entitled "Sethos" whose authorship Moore did not know, and by his enthusiasm over "Les Martyrs" of Chateaubriand. See Memoirs, Journal, and Correspondence of Thomas Moore (1853), Vols. III, V, VII.

mention in histories of the novel, it was popular in its day, and influenced the growth of a new mystical type of the hero of the romantic quest.

The story opens with a Roman feast of the Epicures, but a feast in which the hero, far from contented, feels himself tortured with thoughts of dissolution. Sleeping at the feet of a statue of Venus, the Epicurean has a dream in which he is visited by an old man. To him this stranger says, "Thou who seekest eternal life, go to the shores of the dark Nile, and thou wilt find the eternal life thou seekest." Though the Epicurean did not believe in Divine Providence, he had, according to Moore, some slight faith in dreams. "Who could tell but that in Egypt, the land of mystery, might lie the amulet he sought?"¹ Sailing for Alexandria in the summer of 257 A.D., the Epicurean on his arrival in Egypt is welcomed with the enthusiasm due his rank and fame. Standing before the Pyramids, however, his old questionings return: "Must man alone, then, perish? Must minds and hearts be annihilated, while pyramids endure?" At the pagan Festival of the Moon the Epicurean has been charmed by the sight of a beautiful girl, but before he could meet her she vanished. Exploring the secret passages of the Pyramids a few days later, he meets her again, "bending mournfully over a lifeless female form enshrined in a crystal case, and kissing frequently a small cross of silver that lay over the bosom of the dead." Abashed at such mystical sorrow, the Epicurean withdraws unnoticed. Returning for further explorations the next night, he is astonished to meet instead of the beautiful girl, an aged hierophant, who approached and said, "Aspirant to the mysteries, welcome." As a result of this last meeting, the Epicurean is led to the subterranean caverns of the Pyramids, where he meets Aletne, the young girl of his former visits. He is now daily instructed by the

¹ For a more extended treatment of the belief that the quester for an immortal revelation must seek it in a particular geographical site, a treatment probably based on Moore's, see the main themes of Disraeli's Contarini Fleming (1832), and his Tancred, or the New Crusade (1847).

Egyptian priests in those rites which lead up to the unveiling of the pagan mysteries. Amid his doubts as to whether he shall succumb to the Egyptian faith or not, he is rescued from this dangerous confinement, for he is to be destroyed by his fanatical teachers in case he declines to adopt their faith, by the beautiful girl, Aletné. She is a Christian in disguise, having been trained in that faith secretly by her mother. They flee, Aletné and the Epicurean, to the hermit and saint, Melanius, in the mountains of Said, where for a brief time they pursue idyllic lives and fall deeply in love. There the Epicurean is almost persuaded to embrace her faith and become a Christian. Vengeance, however, comes too quickly. His beloved Aletné is poisoned, and it is only when dying that she sees him kiss the cross, a convert to Christianity. Though he gains immortality thus, he loses his life, as the Pagan sects of Egypt persecute him also, and he dies a martyr to his newly acquired faith. The quest of an Epicurean for immortality, and his final success in passing through love to Christianity, is the theme of the novel. In many ways a crude work, it shows in the quest of the Epicurean and in his character, qualities that Disraeli in his Oriental questers seeking light in the holy land, was to turn to better advantage, and which Kingsley in his "Hypatia" (1853), was to embody far more triumphantly in the character of his heroine.

IV.

THE DECLINE OF ROMANCE AND THE RISE OF SENSATION IN LYTTON'S "PELHAM" 1828,
PAUL CLIFFORD 1830, AND "WILTON AFRAM" 1832.

The sentimentality of Lytton's Falkland, which was one of the chief differences which Lytton added to the qualities of Disraeli's Vivian Grey, continues in his succeeding novels. With this greater sentimentality we now note an increasing tendency toward sensation, and as a result more concern with the hero's emotions than with the visions or ideals which these emotions arouse. The romantic quest for such dream ideals therefore declines as sensation increases, and the heroic is submerged in the passionate.

"Pelham, or the Adventures of a Gentleman" (1828), Lytton's second novel, is a melodramatic story of Pelham's romantic experiences in art, love, duels, and murder mysteries. Pelham himself is a dandy and coxcomb, level-headed, dashing, and pert, another Vivian Grey, but without Vivian's pathetic utility. The emotional, Werther-like melancholy which we have seen in Falkland, Lytton here portrays in the character of Pelham's friend, Sir Richard Glenville. Pelham's quest is that of a gay spirit for happiness; Glenville's is that of a melancholy sentimentalist for an experience which will satiate his uncontrollable passion. Pelham is a scholar, a wit, and a lover, a staunch friend - which his prototype Vivian Grey hardly was - and "an ambitious and studious politician".¹ He plays a manly part through exciting adventures, and sympathizes rightly with his melancholy friend's disasters, but he cannot himself weep over a blighted spirit, for his spirit is not blighted. His dominant characteristic is an élan, a drive, a quest for the romance of this world; but he does not embody his quest in visions, nor desire the infinite, as Vivian Grey and Falkland had been prone to do. In Pelham's character, therefore, romance is dulled by a somewhat worldly imagination, and a sense of humour. In Glenville, other qualities, sensationalism, and a total absorp-

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cf. W.T. Young, Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit., V.XIII, chap. XIII.

tion of imagination in passion, diminish the power of the romantic quest.

Glanville, a restless, brooding young man, finds only in love the great response that can quiet the cravings of his nature. A passionate sentimentalist, he elopes with his sweetheart, a wealthy girl, whose parents - evilently with great prudence - opposed her marrying Glanville. Having eloped, they do not trouble to marry, but in a remote corner of England retire from the world to a natural love and freedom. Why they neglect marriage we do not learn, unless it was because of Glanville's belief that though perhaps love in purity is the greatest rapture, yet the love that is accompanied by sin, remorse, and grief, enchants us with a joy compared with which all other joys are tame.¹ Being called home to the bedside of his sick mother, Glanville is compelled to be absent from his mistress, Gertrude Douglas, for a month. On his return he finds that in his absence, Tyrrell, one of his college friends, has seduced his mistress and shut her up in an asylum, where, half insane, she dies shortly after Glanville discovers her whereabouts. The quest for the immortalities of illicit passion then gives way to the quest for revenge. Fame, titles, the dogmas of the learned, the pursuits of the crowd, the applause of senators, none are able to lull to rest the voices of the past, the spectre of the dead, the quest for revenge. By accident Tyrrell is murdered by another hand; Glanville is avenged; and, shortly after, he dies in melancholy and disillusion, the victim of two romantic exhaustions, a burning love and a burning revenge.

Another story in which sensational elements outweigh the romantic quest of the hero to make society perfect by robbery was Lytton's "Paul Clifford" (1830). Though Clifford is probably the best of Robin Hoods in English fiction,

¹ Bulwer Lytton, Pelham (1828), chap. LXXIV. For a modern criticism of a similar dogma of the romanticists of the 1890's - Wilde, Beardsley, Dowson, Pater, etc., - that sin spiritualizes the soul, cf. Paul Elmer More, Decadent Wit, Among the Wits, Shelburne Essays, V.X, (1919).

his adventures and personal charm outweigh our interest in his heroic ideals. In the murderer of Tyrrell in "Pelham", Lytton had presented the criminal as a low fellow without wit or honor. This view of the criminal he reversed in "Paul Clifford" and returned to the view of crime Godwin had upheld in "Caleb Williams" (1794). Here we see again the hero, who is a chivalrous highwayman. Paul Clifford is a more youthful Raymond, who, it will be remembered, was Godwin's robber captain who waged war on society for the sake of humanity. In like manner Paul, a hero of beauty, wit, and an affectionate heart, robs rich travellers for freedom's sake, and as a protest against the class laws and corrupt courts of an oligarchic society. Taking a cue also from Mrs. Inchbald's "Nature and Art", Lytton shows how the monstrous trap of the law may sometimes ensnare its maker as well as its victim. Clifford, who is really the son of the judge who condemns him, is not recognized until his father has pronounced his sentence. Fear of disgrace kills the judge with well-deserved apoplexy as he is leaving court, and Clifford, instead of being hung, is transported. The judge's niece, however, who has inherited the judge's money, follows Clifford, and in America the noble robber, and this girl who admires his daring, marry and live quite happily. The quest of Paul Clifford was to reform society by a desperate wrench at its purse strings, and to show by the contrast between noble robbery outside the law and ignoble robbery within the law, the evil state of society. There as in "Caleb Williams", the environment is the villain, and Clifford the natural man is noble. A wicked system of schools, jails, banks, and courts for a time force him in his quest for perfectibility to adopt revolutionary methods, and at last we see that only the wilds of a newer, freer, better land are adequate in elbow room for Clifford's benevolent genius. It is not surprising that Godwin thought the book "divinely written."

Though the sentimentality which created Clifford is obvious, and was to

be pointed out with vigorous common sense by Thackeray,¹ nevertheless such a hero, a dashing romanticist of humanity and vigor, whose fine romantic zeal was sullied and wasted by stupid social conditions, was an element in reform of no mean order. The perfectibilian who could do nothing more effective than become a philanthropic brigand, ineffectual though that might seem, accomplished something of the romantic quest in which he engaged. Karl Moor in Schiller's "Robbers" (1792), Raymond, the captain of Godwin's robbers in "Caleb Williams" (1794), and, best of the type, Lytton's Paul Clifford, finally had their day. The agitation from beneath, of which they were but a dramatic symbol, brought a frightened reform. In 1845 Lytton in a new edition of "Paul Clifford" added a preface to show what scalps his hero on the road to perfectibility had won. The reform of the poor laws, establishment of schools for common people, abolition of hangmen, the improving of cottages, and the parcelling out of allotments, all were to some extent, Lytton thought, the result of the romantic quest of the Paul Cliffords, noble robbers, reformers by revolt, perfectibilians in the guise of Robin Hood winning again the natural rights of freeborn Englishmen.²

¹ cf. Wm. M. Thackeray's George de Barnwell, Catherine, and The Newgate Chronicle (1839-40); and Yellowplush Memoirs (1837).

² That there was a running fire of satire directed at Byronism, perfectibility, and benevolent burglars, even during the height of the craze is clear not only from a perusal of the quarterly reviews of the day, but from the publication of such a work as Peacock's "Crotchet Castle" (1831), a satire on the heroes of the romantic quest, their fails and extravagances quite in line with Heavenly Hall or Nightmare Abbey. In Thos. Jefferson Hogg's "Memoirs of Shelley" (1836) there is a satirical account of the young radicals apt to be found at an evening at Shelley's. "I generally found there", Hogg writes, two or three sentimental young butchers, an eminently philosophical tinker, and several very unsophisticated medical practitioners or medical students; all of low origin and of vulgar and offensive manners. They sighed, turned up their eyes, retailed philosophy, such as it was, and swore by Wm. Godwin and Political Justice, acting moreover and very clumsily the parts of Petrarchs, Werthers, St. Leon, and Fleetwoods." Not all, however, acted their parts so clumsily. In "The Adventures of a Younger Son" (1831) by John Edward Trevelyan, the friend of Byron and Shelley, there is a swashbuckling tale, part fiction and part autobiography, of a far from clumsy hero of romance, daring romantic adventurer, seafarer, and pirate. The Younger

Son is glorified as a symbol of the individualistic hero of the romantic quest who wages war against the enslaving service of the British Navy. His quest was for freedom from restraint, for the right to fight for private loyalties, personal virtues, the spoils of war, and for the romance of airbraid escapes, and oriental wonders beyond the horizon's rim. The charm of the hero, his tremendous gash, his daring, and fearlessness, combined with his sense for romantic beauty, and the wonders of heroic action, give an Elizabethan touch to this hero of the romantic quest who was something more than fictitious.

From the sentimentality of the hero who robbed in the name of humanity, Lytton passed to the ever greater sentimentality of the hero who committed murder in the name of Science. "Eugene Aram" (1832) shows us a hero whose passionate quest went through three distinct stages. "When I was but thirteen," Aram says in his confession, "the deep and intense passion that has made the demon of my life,- the love of knowledge, - first stirred palpably within me." In this first stage, he becomes, like Faust, a recluse given over to this one devouring passion for knowledge, so that human companions, ambitions, and pleasures were abandoned, and history, poetry, the mastery of the past alone engulfed his being. The second stage was marked by an "ambition to enlighten and instruct my race", a humanitarian desire to serve, a desire pursued with such abandon, that Aram found himself poor, too proud to beg, and though possessing a mine of intellectual wealth, unable to market it, for the lack of a little worldly substance. In this agitated state of poverty, he comes to regard society as his foe. This belief is strengthened by the villainess of a man of wealth, Clarke, and by the outlaw arguments of his tempter, Houseman. At this point, the intellectual quest and the humanitarian quest combine in Aram's mind to make him the slave of his third romantic ideal, "for suddenly as I poured over my scanty books, a gigantic discovery in science gleamed across me. I saw the means of effecting a vast benefit to truth and to man----and in this discovery I was stopped by the total inadequacy of my means."²

Unable to obtain money to develop this great invention of his, and goaded on by an overmastering passion to serve humanity, Aram is tempted by Houseman, by the worthless nature of his rich victim, and by fortuitous circumstances, into committing, or into assisting in, a murder. But once he has done this, the springs of passion immediately run dry, and Aram is

¹ Bulwer Lytton, Eugene Aram (1832), Bk.V, chap.VII.

² Ibid. Bk.V, chap.VII.

horrified to discover that his "ambition had died in remorse, and the vessel that should have borne me to the Far Land of Science, now lay rotting piecemeal on a sea of blood."¹ Thus the romantic quest to benefit mankind is destroyed by a sense of sin, and it is only at the scaffold that Aram again sees his vision, and expresses the hope that the Great Unseen Spirit of Progress which he has worshipped, though blindly, and even with crime, may in another life bring him a fairer fortune.

With this novel Lytton closed his early, Byronic period, and the quest for perfectibility by means of robbery and crime ended at the scaffold. Five years sufficed for this, his first period of romance, and during that time Lytton added to the heroes of the romantic quest five characters of some individuality and life: Falkland the irresistible recluse, humanitarian, and nympholept, a Werther-like hero; Palmer, the perfectibilian turned political reformer and fop; and Clayville, his friend, the dark Byronic lover of passion and revenge; Paul Clifford, the reformer who is a gentleman highwayman, and modern Robin Hood; and finally, Eugene Aram, the philosophic murderer, who seeks even by crime to lay on the altars of science a sacrifice to the spirit of human progress. Nympholepsy, a romantic quest destined for some growth in the novels to come, Lytton first introduced here to English fiction in a way meriting attention. His other themes are modifications or expansions of romantic ideals already developed, such as perfectibility, free love, Byronic passion, or the thirst for a heavenly talisman in scientific or philosophic learning. Though these heroes are, indeed, heroes of the romantic quest, with such power to envisage their emotions and ideals in perfect visions, they show a tendency to over-emotionalism, a tendency which a few years later was to engulf the romantic quest in a flood of passions. Palmer, Paul Clifford,

¹ Ibid. Bk.V, chap.VII.

and Eugene Aram are, however, still heroes of romance, and well enough drawn that today almost a century later their characters and plots still have some currency.¹

¹ For an account of Lytton's position in literature today see Edmund Gosse, Some Diversions of a Man of Letters (1919), pp. 115-139. In this essay Mr. Gosse reviews the history of the appearance of Lytton's novels, and their revelations of his character, as set forth in the Life of Lytton by his grandson.

V.

THE TEMPORARY REVIVAL OF THE HERO OF THE ROMANTIC QUEST IN DISRAELI'S
 "CONTARINI FLEMING" 1832 AND "ALFOY" 1833.

With the return of Disraeli to English fiction, the sensationalism manifested in Lytton's heroes received something of a check, and the earlier themes of his own Vivian Grey, as well as the new ideals discovered by Lytton and Moore, now receive a more romantic treatment. After publishing "Vivian Grey", Disraeli had spent three years travelling in Europe and the Near East. Returning to England, he found Lytton famous, and Pelhamism in full career. As Lytton had written in "Eckland" his "Sorrows of Werther", so it may be said that Disraeli in his next great novel, "Contarini Fleming" (1832), gathered into one work most of the subtleties and complexities of the reviving romanticism of his day, and wrote his "Wilhelm Meister". He was, indeed, indebted to Goethe's work for his model, and the high praise which Goethe, Heine, and Beckford gave Disraeli's novel testified to the authority with which it spoke to that generation. The theme of the novel is the development of a poetic soul, and in the character of the hero, Contarini, strains of art, nympholepsy, and egotism compete for mastery. Despite the praise of "Contarini Fleming" by such critics as Goethe, Heine, Wm. Beckford, and Sir Leslie Stephen, historians of the novel give the work short shrift. Cross and the Cambridge History of English Literature, for example, do not notice it except in bibliographies: Holliday terms it a "psychological romance", speaks of its having been highly praised, and says that Contarini's soul is an image of the young Disraeli's. As a document in the romanticism of its time, the novel has more importance than would thus be indicated, for though it is poorly constructed, it has the merit of summing up in a highly poetical figure much of the English romantic longing and aspiration current in the 1830's.

Contarini Fleming was an even more precocious youth than Vivian Grey.

The son of a Saxon father and an Italian mother, a temperamental boy with artistic, literary and political aspirations, he is inspired by travel and impelled by his own nature to a passionate pursuit of the beautiful, the romantic, the mystic. At the early age of six he develops a violent adoration for a young woman of twenty-two who is his companion and friend. As his "passion" for Christiana deepens, Contarini finds that she has the power to inspire in him nympholeptic visions. This rapture he describes with great intensity, the first of his romantic quests - somewhat astonishing for a lad of six.

"As my abstraction grew more intense, the purple lightened into a dusky white, and this new curtain again into a glittering veil, and the veil mystically disappeared, and I beheld a beautiful female face.

"It was not unlike Christiana, but more dazzling and very pensive. And the eyes met mine, and they were full of serious lustre, and my heart beat, and I seemed to whisper with a low, but almost ecstatic voice, 'Egeira!' Yet, indeed, my lips did not move. And the vision beamed with a melancholy smile. And suddenly I found myself in a spacious cave, and I looked up into the face of a beautiful woman, and her countenance was the countenance of the vision. And we were in deep shade, but far out I could perceive a shining and azure land. And the sky was of a radiant purple, and the earth was streaming with a golden light. And there were blue mountains, and bright fields, and glittering vineyards.

"And I said nothing, but I looked upon her face, and dwelt upon her beauty. And the hours flew, and the sun set, and the dew descended. And as the sky became less warm the vision gradually died away; and I arose in the long twilight, and returned home pensive and grave, but full of a soft and palpitating joy.....

"Each day I hastened to the enchanted dell, each day I returned with renewed rapture. I had no thought for anything but my mystic mistress."

And in my studies, he adds, I had "now so complete a command of my system of abstraction, that, while my eye apparently was employed and interested with my allotted page, I, in fact, perceived nothing but my visionary nymph."¹

The passion for Christiana and for Egeira in which for a few years he wastes his hours and energy, is succeeded, when he becomes a growing youth at school, by an ardent friendship for Musaeus, a classmate. This friendship

¹ Benjamin Disraeli, Contarini Fleming, Chap. VI.

too he sublimates, regarding it as a golden chain by which he is to climb to mystical joys and successes. Of his friendship with Musaeus, a handsome but unimaginative boy whose most surprising characteristic was his willingness to be loved almost literally to death, Contarini writes,

"I beheld him: I loved him. My friendship was a passion.... O days of rare and pure felicity! when Musaeus and myself with our arms around each other's necks wandered together amid the meads and shady woods...I lavished upon him all the fanciful love that I had long stored up; and the mighty passions that yet lay dormant in my obscure soul now first began to stir in the glimmering abyss. And, indeed, in conversing with this dear companion, it was that I first began to catch some glimpses of my yet hidden nature: for the days of futurity were our usual topic, and in parcelling out their fortunes I unconsciously discovered my own desires. I was to be something great and glorious, and dazzling; but what, we could not determine....His image was seldom absent from me; and when in the hour of school we passed each other, or our countenances chanced to meet, there was ever a sweet, faint, smile, that, unmarked by others, interchanged our love."¹

This episode and the romantic quarrels, and furious jealousies which Contarini later shows toward Musaeus, probably influenced Wilde in descriptions later of "Dorian Gray".

As in the case of Christiana and Esmeralda, however, this passion for the absolute in love finds itself dissatisfied with the object of its desire. The flame for Musaeus burns lower and lower, and Contarini discovers again that what he really loved was the idealization of Musaeus which his own imagination had created rather than the real Musaeus. And so a dream-ideal youth having for a time replaced a dream-ideal nymph, finally itself loses favor, and the quest for fullness of satisfaction, to find somewhere the ideal embodied in the real, continues. The progress of his nympholepsy far from alarming Contarini with its excess, tends to make him regard himself as a beautiful soul. "The Magdalen succeeded to Christiana and Esmeralda. Each year my mistress seemed to grow more spiritual; first reality, then fancy, now pure spirit: a beautiful woman, a mystical nymph, a canonized soul. How was this to end? Perhaps I

¹ Ibid. Chap.VII.

was ultimately designed for angelic intercourse, perhaps I might mount the skies with the presiding essence of a star."²

Ecstasy in nympholepsy leads to the belief that he is born to interpret life to mankind, and he turns to art as a next object of his quest. Though Contarini is torn between a desire to be another Napoleon and bestirre the world like a superman, or to be an artist, he decides in spite of his father's preference for the Napoleonic, to become an artist. Failing to accept the discipline of the schools of art, however, he and a group of his fellows break away, and decide to go to North America to set up an ideal life. Instead, they take up life in an abandoned castle, and set up in a savage state a "Secret Union for the Amelioration of Society". But the Union is really only a feudal corps of bandits. They rob travellers and even plan to become real pirates in the Mediterranean, when they hear that the police are after them, and the other boys get frightened. They then quit, and escape without punishment. The philanthropic brigand theme is thus again glorified, though more as a fine escapade than as a philosophical reform.

After being a highly successful private secretary to his father, who is Secretary of State, Contarini writes several novels with poetic heroes. He finally goes himself to Italy, the land of his ancestors and dreams, then to the near East, Egypt and the Holy Land, and finally back to Italy where he decides to devote the rest of his life to the creation of the beautiful. He gives up all thoughts of politics and action, and becomes an artist. What he creates is left a little vague, but it is supposedly beautiful, and it stills for a time Contarini's desires. "Here let me pass my life in the study and the creation of the beautiful. Such is my desire; but whether it will be my career is, I feel, doubtful. My interest in the happiness of my race (for which, by the way, he has done nothing) is too keen to permit me for a moment to be blind to the storms that lour on the horizon of society. Perchance also the political

regeneration of the country to which I am devoted may not be far distant, and in that great work I am resolved to participate.....Yet if I am to be remembered, let me be remembered as one who in a sad night of gloomy ignorance and savage bigotry was prescient of the flaming morning-break of bright philosophy, as one who deeply sympathised with his fellow-men, and felt a proud and profound conviction of their perfectibility; as one who devoted himself to the amelioration of his kind, by the destruction of error and the propagation of truth."¹

Here then in the character of Contarini Fleming, most of the romantic dream ideals then popular are present as driving forces; nympholepsy, sublimated friendship, the religion of beauty, a forerunner of the art-for-art's-sake school at the end of the century, the philanthropic brigand in a state of nature - a noble savage, indeed - a wanderlust of artistic vagabondage abroad, and finally, the dream of perfectibility by political regeneration. Thus the novel ends without an end, and with merely an indication that for Contarini the romantic quest was the vital ideal. Though he accomplished little, he dreamed gloriously; he was an aesthete of the school of poetic rapture and unrestrained passions; he was, in short, a beautiful soul.

In "Contarini Fleming" there were passages which foreshadowed Disraeli's interest in the orient, and in the fate of the Jews. His own travels to the Holy Land were partly in quest of a truth which he deemed had been reserved for mankind only in the lands of revelation. In "The Wondrous Tale of Alroy" (1833), Disraeli returns to the race and settings already made popular by Croly's "Solathiel" (1827), Thos. Moore's "The Epicurian", and Horace Smith's "Zillah" of the same year, and writes the story of a Jewish prince supposedly descended from David, and whose mission in life is to win freedom and domination for the Jewish tribes. Alroy is solemn, daring, devout in the old testament manner, an Hebraic superman, led by visions and prophecies, a hero whose

¹ Ibid. Part VII, chap.II.

romantic quest is for a revival of the power and pride of his ancestors, and who regards his quest as divinely ordained. He raises armies and fights the conquerors of his tribe. Successful for a time, he finally falls by the seductive wiles of a treacherous princess, is cast into prison, and on refusing to renounce his divine quest, is beheaded. The Hebraism of the story is accurate. The hero here sketched is but a forerunner of a character and a crusade which Disraeli was to make more popular and significant some fifteen years later in his novel of "Tancred, or the New Crusade". Nevertheless, Alroy, though crude, is a more live because historically a more possible figure among the Hebraic heroes of the romantic quest than Salathiel, the Immortal and serves as a kind of reincarnation of the Old-Testament Biblical deliverer, a romantic superman in an oriental and Hebraic guise.

VI.

THE FAILURE OF ROMANCE AND THE TRIUMPH OF SENSATION IN LYTTON'S "COLLDOLPHIN"

1833, "ERNEST MALTRIVERS" 1837, AND "ALICE" 1838.

English writers of fiction from 1833 to 1840 added little to the development of new or important figures of the romantic quest. Lytton and Captain Marryat divide the field between them, Lytton's heroes becoming less and less romantic as their sensationalism increases. In "Colldolphin" (1833), a novel which took Byron as its hero, and in "Ernest Maltravers" (1837), and in its sequel "Alice, or the Mysteries" (1838), Lytton added new names and new experiences to the melancholy sentimentalists portrayed in his earlier novels. A visualized ideal or symbolical quest for romance becomes, however, less evident. In "Colldolphin", for example the Byronism degenerates from an heroic quest for liberty or some ideal of perfection, into a cheap pose of sensation, and a mere love of worldly glitter and passion. "Ernest Maltravers", which took Goethe's "Wilhelm Meister" for its model, also turns more to a Byronic sensationalism than to a romantic quest. Nevertheless, some of the romantic desire for a world of fancy and imaginative perfection still lingers, at least in Maltravers's speech, if not in the action, or in the method of Lytton's treatment of the story. Of his hero who has been to Germany for some of his education, Lytton writes: "I have said that Maltravers was a wild, enthusiastic, odd being--he was, in fact, full of strange German romance and metaphysical speculations. He had once shut himself up for months to study astrology--had even been suspected of a serious hunt after the philosopher's stone; another time he had narrowly escaped with life and liberty from a frantic conspiracy of the young republicans of his university, in which, being bolder and madlier than most of them, he had been an active ringleader; it was, indeed some such folly that had compelled him to quit Germany sooner than himself or his parents desired".....

Returning to England, and travelling toward his home, Maltravers gets lost late at night in a rather black environment. Coming to a mean looking house, he asks admittance, the weather being bad, and gets it. After he is in, however, he wishes that he had not stopped, as the man of the house is an evil looking fellow, and Maltravers fears that he will be murdered before morning for his money. Had it not been for Alice, the heroine, the young and virtuous daughter of the cottage, this would have happened, but she steals her father's key, and Maltravers escapes. The following day Alice meets Maltravers by appointment, determines on leaving her own home, and is at once adopted by Maltravers, a youth perhaps six years her senior. "He determined", Lytton tells us, "he determined that he would educate this charming girl--he would write fair and heavenly characters on this blank page--he would act the St. Preux to this Julie of nature!"¹ Spurred on by his educational enthusiasm, Maltravers took a cottage, and for a time engaged in educating Alice, but finally seduced her. Called away by his father's death, Maltravers finds on his return that Alice has been kidnapped by her own father, who was engaged in robbing the house and was greatly surprised to find his daughter there. Thus the lovers are separated, not to be united again until Alice is a prosperous woman in other circumstances. And so the story instead of portraying the ideals and career of a hero of the romantic quest quickly descends to a story of passion and melodramatic improbabilities. "Alice, or the Mysteries", which continues the story, in like manner continues the hero of extravagant feeling, over-empatic passion, and sham emotionalism. Here too Maltravers pretends to be a hero in quest of artistic or political ideals, but in truth he is a sham. Romance has departed, and Sensation reigns in its stead. In "Asclepius at Large" (1836) Lytton wrote a story of perfectibility, which foreshadowed the ideas of his novel "The Coming Race" (1871), but it was a slight story, and its hero

¹ Bulwer Lytton, Ernest Maltravers, (1837), chap. IV.

lacked significance. Disraeli who ceased novel writing almost entirely for ten years after the publication of "Alroy", broke his silence in 1837 with a novel, "Venetia", whose heroes were modeled on Byron and Shelley. It is a story of artists who are faithful and unfaithful, brilliant, and restless, seeking an outlet for their energies in illicit love and poetry, but coming at length to peace in domestic attachments. At the end, Lord Cadurcis (Byron) and Marmion Herbert (Shelley), are drowned in a squall, and Venetia, who is daughter to Shelley and wife to Byron, is left to mourn them. The novel is an artistic but not very profound fragment of the history of romanticism, and it adds little to previous portrayals of the Byronic hero. In Lytton's work, then, it is evident that romanticism is declining, and the hero of the romantic quest which Byron had made popular, and which Lytton and Disraeli had brought into fiction, is becoming a mere creature of passion and sensation. From "Paul Clifford" and "Syre Aram" arise not more romantic novels or heroes, but instead more sensational and realistic heroes. The Newgate Novel from 1830 to 1840, in The Autobiography of Jack Ketch, Rockwood, Oliver Twist, Jack Sheppard, Catherine, etc., does not connote romance or heroes whose ideal is a romantic quest, but realism, sensation, melodrama, and caricature.¹

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For a treatment of the sensation novel which grew out of the Gothic Romance and the novels of a Byronic character, see Walter C. Phillips, "Dickens, Reade, and Collins, Sensation Novelists" (1919), pp. 162-164; 220ff.



VII.

MARRYATT'S EFFORTS TO REHABILITATE THE HERO OF THE ROMANTIC QUEST IN HIS

"MR. MIDSHIPMAN EASY" 1836 AND "THE PHANTOM SHIP" 1839.

Though during the thirties sensationalism and realism was gradually obscuring romance, there was still a minor interest in the hero of the romantic quest, evident in Lytton, and fairly prominent in the novels of Captain Maryatt. In his novels "Mr. Midshipman Easy" (1836), and "The Phantom Ship" (1839), there is an effort to rehabilitate the hero of the romantic quest. These heroes move in new surroundings, and have a healthier outlook on the world than the melancholy nympholepts of Disraeli and Lytton. Their quests, however, are more objective and adventurous than spiritual, and Maryatt's heroes thus belong to the earlier rather than to the more fully developed types of romantic heroes. Current criticisms of Maryatt are apt, like that of Cross,¹ to emphasize his humor, and vivid descriptions of the sea, and to stress his relations to the sea stories of Smollett, Casper, Michael Scott, and Sir Walter Scott. That the romanticism of Maryatt's tales is not profound is no doubt true, and yet though his is a romance of adventure, and so belongs to the early stages of romantic development, it has in it certain allied elements that relate it to the present study of heroic types. The action of Maryatt's stories is motivated, as the action is not, say, in Scott or Cooper, by the theme of the quest; and in so far as he may, Maryatt embodies this quest in his heroes. The fact that these heroes turn out to be healthy, humorous, sturdy, sons of the romance of action, rather than melancholy, soulful, subjective heroes of sentimental romance, shows, it may be, the limitations of Maryatt's power of characterization, but his heroes are none the less heroes of the romantic quest.

"Mr. Midshipman Easy" is the story of an upstanding young fellow, Jack Easy, or Equality Jack, as he comes to be known, who has learned from his

¹ W. L. Cross, Development of the English Novel (1899) pp.156-7.

father, a revolutionary crank, to believe in the doctrines of the French Revolution, especially in the doctrines of equality and the rights of man. Finding inequality so firmly rooted on shore, Jack turns to what he hopes will be the freedom of the seas. At the age of fourteen he therefore joins the English Navy, having heard that it defends the freedom of the seas, and sets forth in quest of equality. Such a quest was perhaps in itself sufficiently sardonic not to require comment, but it turned out better than one might anticipate. As the Captain of Jack's ship owes money to Jack's quixotic father, Old Man Easy, Jack does not get so badly disillusioned as might be expected. The Navy, because of the Captain's shielding Jack, turns out to be a gentleman's navy, and the "equality" of revolutionary democracy finally becomes "equality in obedience and duty". Jack discards the romantic quest for an abstraction, when he sees that it can't be established in reality, and becomes romantic only in his daring in battle, in his extraordinary sense for fair play, and in his chivalrous helpfulness and decency to his shipmates. However, though he is universally loved on board ship, Jack decides that there is more of equality ashore in England than there is afloat on her battleships, and, having won a fine wife in Palermo, he resigns and returns home. A symbolical disaster awaits him on his arrival in England. His father in his too eager quest for the absolute of equality, had designed a machine for making all brains equal; but in testing it, he had unfortunately got entangled in the machinery, and killed. Jack, however, has a kindlier fate. He knows better than to pursue romance and equality to such extremes. With him the quest led to adventure, war, glory, an adjustment of poetic ideals to common sense, and not to disaster. He is left at last a benevolent citizen, father of four children, a democratic, healthy, handsome man, having been at one time in his youth a hero of a romantic quest, indeed, - a quest for equality in the English Navy.

In "The Phantom Ship" Marryatt attempts a more visionary form of romance, one dependent for the greatest success on a sense for the subjective, and on a sense for hallucination. These things Marryatt could not command, and the spirits which he calls from the vasty deep lack a higher spirituality, which, for credibility, they should have. However, as in Jack Easy's quest, much happens, romance is afoot, and the hero's life is a stirring pilgrimage. "The Phantom Ship" is the story of a young man, Philip Vanderdecken, who lived about the middle of the seventeenth century at Terneuse, a small town in Holland on the banks of the Scheldt. From his birth his mother had been a widow, the loss of her husband having always affected her mind slightly. When Philip is about seventeen, she dies, but on her death bed reveals to him the cause of her mental distress. Soon after Philip's birth, she had been startled by the appearance of her husband's ghost, a ghost announcing to her its own demise, and the circumstances of that death, and laying on her the burden of its redemption from eternal wanderings. The story of the ghost was as follows: The elder Vanderdecken, (now a ghost) on being unable to get round the Cape of Good Hope, had cursed blasphemously, and in anger had murdered one of his crew, Schriften, a one-eyed man. For that he had been sunk, and condemned to wander forever, unless the relic which his wife wore around her neck should be brought to him on the deck of his Phantom Ship in the Indian Ocean. This duty had lain heavy on her heart for seventeen years, Philip's mother tells him, and dying, she lays on his soul the duty of rescuing his father. For this purpose also, she leaves him a fortune of 10,000 guilders.

Philip, who is a brave fellow, very frank, open, strong, and manly, careless in manner and quick in action, determines at once to undertake the quest. Before he can arrange for a ship, however, he must needs prove himself a hero by rescuing a miser and his daughter, a girl of Arab descent in Terneuse, from four sailors who are planning to rob the father and kidnap

the girl. This incident results in love, and Philip and the Arab girl, Amine Peets, are married. Amine, however, a girl of some spark, understands her husband's life-mission, and agrees that he shall undertake it. The romantic adventures that overtake Philip in his insatiable quest for the salvation of his father's soul is the theme of the remainder of the story.

After a brief period of married happiness, Philip sails as second-mate on a ship of the Dutch East Indies Company. In the Indian Ocean they do encounter the famous phantom ship, or Flying Dutchman, but lose sight of her. Soon after, a storm sinks Philip's boat, and he alone is rescued. Philip returns to England defeated. The burden of the quest, however, will not let him rest. On his second trip the phantom ship is again seen, and Philip's ship is sunk, but this time the crew is rescued. Philip then feels that perhaps his own presence on a ship does not necessarily drown the crew, though it does sink the vessel. Subsequent voyages, however have enough of shipwreck and horror in them to destroy such a faith. And yet Philip continues, in spite of disaster, his wife's pleadings, and the representations of the church, to make the trip, once as first-mate, and once as captain of the Queen ship of the company. On every voyage Philip sees the Phantom ship, but he always fails to reach it before it vanishes.

At last Philip's wife accompanies him on one of these voyages. They are wrecked, and both are rescued, though not together. Unable to find Philip, Amine reverts to the incantations of her Arab beliefs. The Spanish Inquisition, just then powerful under Alva, who is scourging Holland for Philip of Spain, hears of Amine's black art, and as she persists in her un-Christian magic, they burn her at the stake. Philip, arriving just too late to rescue her, falls in a faint. Recovering, Philip, now an old man, sets forth on his last quest. His ship meets the Flying Dutchman, and receives a request from one of the phantom crew who comes aboard Philip's ship, that they

carry some letters to the phantom sailor's wife. But the crew refuses, and in terror they set Philip and a one-eyed companion of his, a mysterious sailor, who always happens to be about when Philip suffers a disaster, adrift in a row boat. They start to row toward the phantom ship, but find that the longer they row, the farther it seems away. Finally in desperation Philip turns to his companion and says:

"Who are you, anyway?"

"The man your father killed, and who laid the curse on your father", answers Schriften.

"God forgive you for it," Philip answers, and with that the curse is lifted, and they come to the phantom ship. Once aboard, Philip meets his father and presents to him the relic. The elder Vanderlecken kisses it several times devoutly, and at each kiss more and more of the phantom ship breaks up and disappears into thin air. Down go the guns; down go the masts, bulwarks, and decks; and finally, down go the crew, Philip's father, Schriften, and last, Philip himself. The fate is completed; the father's soul is saved; and Philip's quest is over.

In Philip Vanderlecken Maryatt thus sets forth the robust hero of the romantic quest, a brave, sturdy, honest young fellow, one not naturally superstitious, but being wrought, perplexed in the extreme. Like Hamlet, he has too keen a conscience to abandon his father to his fate, and therefore he sacrifices his own and his wife's happiness and the lives of numerous crews, in the quest for the mystic absolution. That Maryatt did well to sacrifice such a man to such a quest may well be doubted. The ruminations of Hamlet do not suit the temperament of Achilles. Thus the romance of adventure in Maryatt's hero is admirable, but the romance of the soul's quest for absolution is no deeper than a faery story. The subjective was not Maryatt's forte. In English fiction, for the time being, the spiritual hero of the romantic quest

pauses in his career, and the early hero of romantic adventure takes his place. The subjective is temporarily exhausted, and the objective hero of action, dash, and superb physical zest rules again instead.

THE CONTRASTING TRIUMPHS AND FAILURES OF BALZAC'S HEROES OF THE ROMANTIC
QUEST 1830-1835.

The heroes of the romantic quest in English fiction often retained a social purpose in their idealism. Indeed, as was seen in Colvin's novels, a consideration of social machinery even obscured the dominating characteristic of the hero and his search. It was not, however, this humanitarian or social purpose that most writers of European romance chose for their consideration and development. A glance at a novelist whose works began as a rebound from English romanticism, and whose heroes are clearer, more logically developed, and more passionately dedicated to their dreams than the English heroes of the same period, may be of service in revealing the theme of the romantic quest and its essential significance in the heroes of romance. From 1830 to 1835 Balzac (1799-1850) served his apprenticeship at romance, creating his characters according to his theory of the master passion that man is a walking theorem, and showing with philosophical locutions life as a romantic quest. Maturin, Scott, Monk Lewis, and Anne Radcliffe were the English novelists who most influenced him, and their influence is evident in his early work. The differences between Balzac and his novels lie in Balzac's greater clarity in his treatment of the theme, in his greater powers of abstraction as a philosopher, and in the levity with which he regards the anti-social as divine.¹ For purposes of contrast I have therefore considered it advisable to glance at a group of Balzac's heroes of the romantic quest. They differ from English heroes in the completeness with which everything but the idea of the quest is eliminated from their characters. This, as has been said, adds force and clarity to the theme, but tends to eliminate a sense for individuality, for social life, and for probability from the characters themselves. The result is

¹For a study of the master passion in Balzac's writings, see White Faguet's Balzac, pp.140-180; and for an account of the extreme individualism of his characters, see Ferdinand Brunetière's Honoré de Balzac, p.20.

that one remembers Balzac's stories and forgets his heroes, whereas in the English stories of the romantic quest the reverse is more apt to be the case.

"L'Elixir de longue Vie" (1830), the earliest of Balzac's tales of the romantic quest, is a Balzacian version of the Don Juan story combined with an elixir of life motive. Balzac tells us that his hero is in fact "Moliere's Don Juan, Goethe's Faust, Byron's Manfred, Maturin's Melmoth--great allegorical figures drawn by the greatest men of genius in Europe.....figures that shall endure as long as the principle of evil existing in the heart of man shall produce a few copies from century to century. Sometimes the type becomes half human when incarnate as a Mirbeau, sometimes it is an inarticulate force in a Bonaparte, sometimes it overwhelms the universe with irony as a Rabelais..... But the profound genius of Juan Belvidero anticipated and resumed all these. All things were to him a jest. His life was the life of a mocking spirit." With the Pope Julius the second, he made fun of faith and eternity, and was on such good terms with him that he ever got the Pope in his cups to doubt his own infallibility.

Now, Don Juan, though always indulged by a doting father, and given everything he could ask for, nevertheless, desired his father's death. This came at last, when his father was ninety years old, and the Don about twenty-eight. At the last scene of his father's life, Juan is summoned from a banquet in the palace to attend his father's death. He appears properly pious, and says,

"Oh, if it were only possible to keep you here by giving up a part of my own life!"

"I shall live", retorts the father.

"We must submit to the will of God", says Juan.

"I am God", replied his father. He then tells Juan of a flask with the elixir of life in it, and asks him to rob it on the way when he is dead; and he

announces that, if this is true, he will then return to life, and be young again. The Don is sceptical but tries it on one of his father's eyes as an experiment, and is horrified to see that it works. The eye is young and beautiful, and looks on with reproach to see that Juan has now no notion of carrying things further. Juan in desperation finally crushes out the eye, and keeps the elixir for himself.

About to die, Juan summoned his own son, whom he had taken care to bring up as a very faithful and devout Catholic, and directs as his father had done that the son apply the elixir. He gives as a reason that he has been so wicked in this life, that the Pope gave him as a cure for his sins some of the holy water that once issued from the rock in the wilderness. This son does as he is bidden. He applies the elixir to the head first, and then to the arm, the room being dark, whereupon he is seized by the revived arm, and is so shocked that he drops the rest of the elixir, and it is lost. This leaves the corpse only partially alive. The result is magical. Folks come from miles and miles to see the "miracle", and Juan is compelled to lie in his coffin in state, and hear himself made into a saint. He curses and swears at them for doing it, and finally tears his own head from the old dead trunk of his body. His head then falls on the Abbot's head, fastens its teeth in his brain, and kills him, crying as it does so: "Idiot, tell us now if there is a God". Here, then, the theme is the pursuit of desire as typified by the elixir of life; the hero is a shrewd and unscrupulous Don Juan, without charm but with a burning desire to continue his cynical career of lust and power, and the ability to fix things so that he will probably be able to do so; and his Quest which was for immortality, he gains, but hardly in the way he desired. Of this hero and his quest one is inclined to remark that it is a fine mathematical demonstration, but it is not life, not human, not significant enough of flesh and blood.

"La Peau de Chagrin", (the Wild Ass's Skin") (1831), is the story of a young Frenchman of noble birth, who, when his patrimony is gone, finding nothing to do that will give him what he considers a livable life, decides to commit suicide. About to throw himself into the river, he thinks of the publicity of it, and decides to wait until night. Wandering about town, he enters an antiquary's shop, where are kept reliques of ancient civilizations, and arts, meets an old dealer, gets into an intimate conversation with him, and tells him of his approaching end. The dealer says that if that is the case, he has the power to give him anything he may desire before he jumps off, and desires him to accept it. The talisman is a wild ass's skin, and its property is such, that at each wish of the owner, it will shrink. The wish is gratified, but at each wish the skin grows smaller. When it vanishes altogether, the life of the owner goes with it.

The desperate hero, Rastignol, agrees, makes a number of fantastic wishes, great wealth, the enjoyment of beautiful women, real love, much wine, furious banquets, and an hour's peace of friends. He gets them all, but what is his horror to see that with each wish, the skin, which he has nailed to the side of the wall is growing smaller. He then arranges his affairs so that he will never have to ask for anything, and all his wishes will be anticipated; but in spite of all that he can do, a wish or so will slip out now and then. He finally dies in agony with his teeth in the breast of the lady he loves. The moral is that life without a quest is death; the hero is a young gambler with a fortune who tries to "get rich quick", but who finds that the skin which gratifies his wishes, also takes away his life; and the quest which ruined his life was the quest for happiness without paying the human price.

In his treatment of the elixir of life theme, and of this similarly motivated story of the wild ass's skin, Balzac proceeds by the method of demonstration. His themes are more important than his heroes; in fact, one

has the disturbing impression that the heroes are mere puppets selected for the purpose of illustrating the romantic quest for immortal youth or perfect happiness. Don Juan and Faust as they appear here are abstractions, composed of qualities laid on from the outside. Their value is, therefore, merely symbolic. They stand for humanity, especially for its romantic out-reaching side, and they therefore lay bare even more clearly than the better individualized English heroes, the romantic quest which was at the basis of the age. From stories where the talisman is an outer stone or elixir, Balzac passes to a more subjective treatment of the theme in "Louis Lambert", (1832). Louis Lambert, (Balzac himself), as an orphan, is adopted by Mme de Staël, and sent to school. He becomes a brilliant scholar and thinker, and devotes himself to proving that "material is penetrable by the spirit", and that there is a Chemistry of the Will. Materialism and spiritualism are the horns of a dilemma which he finds it hard or impossible to avoid. "My point", he says, "is to ascertain the real relation that may exist between God and man." This quest leads him to Swedenborgianism,¹ and to the belief that "man has three degrees: that of instinct, below the average; that of Abstraction, the general average; and that of Specialism, above the average. Specialism opens to man his true career; the Infinite flows on him; he sees what his destiny must be." Specialism is another name for the higher faculties, for mysticism, and the life of the religious abstractionist.

Lambert marries, but then to all human intents and purposes, he loses his mind and has to be attended to like a child by his wife. She, however, says that in three years, he has had three days of lucidity, and she knows that he is not insane, but is merely rapt away into the future which most

¹For the influence of Swedenborg on Balzac, see Dr. Pauline Bernheim's Balzac und Swedenborg, Einfluss der Mystik Swedenborgs und Saint Martins auf die Romantisierung Balzacs, in Romantische Studien, Berlin (1914).

mystics talk about, but have not sufficient spiritual vigor to attain. He dies at the age of twenty-eight, in the year 1824, in his true love's arms. He is buried without a name on his cross, and his wife lives on, hoping to join him. She remarks at his death, "His heart was mine; his genius is with God." The theme is again the quest for immortal truth leading through philosophy, science, and skepticism into the abstractions of a mystical Swedenborgianism where the spirit is swallowed up in the veil of immortality; and here, Louis Lambert, is the quester for absolute truth; and his quest for a mystical translation into the next world, a quest which swallowed up his life and career is either ended by death, or only just begun. As to which it is, Balzac leaves us in doubt. Again the value of the story lies in the symbolism of Lambert's spiritual quest. The physical desecration and emaciation which his pursuit of the absolute mystical translation brings upon him, is described with horrible power; but Lambert too is hardly a man. He is a demonstration, a symbol of humanity itself with all the accidents of character and individuality submerged, and only the grand passion of the infinite in possession of his soul.

The quest of the scientist for the philosopher's stone Balzac exploits with the ingenuity of culminating frenzy in his next story, "La Recherche de l'Absolu" (1834). Here again is the story of the master passion, raised to madness, and sweeping everything else along with it in its quest for the ideal of satisfaction. "The Quest for the Absolute", is a story of a wealthy French family in Douai. M. Balthazar Claes, the head of the family, is for fifteen years a model father and husband. At the end of that, he gets an idea that he will go in pursuit of the philosopher's stone, the elemental metal that is the sign metal for all other metals. He therefore rises up a laboratory in his attic, and pursues his studies. He becomes so abstracted that he forgets his family for days, even for years at a time, and spends almost all his money

and his wife's too in chemicals, and new experiments. He keeps thinking that he has just about discovered the stone, though in the process of abstraction and the alienation of his wife, substituting his quest of the absolute for his love for her and for his children, he kills his wife. He then gives up his researches for a time, but the lure is too strong, and he proceeds now to spend his children's patrimony. However, his eldest daughter, Margaret, is different from the mother, and she calls an emphatic halt to his expenditures. The old man threatens suicide, and thus gets the only remaining money in the family, but he promises that if he does not succeed this time, he will place himself in her hands. He fails, and his daughter banishes him to a political job for five years, she meantime taking hold of the farms, and reestablishing by great diligence, their fortunes. M. Claes in the meantime has gone as deeply into debt as he could for his quest. He returns home; Margaret pays his bills again; restores the house and estate to him; and then he bankrupts himself again, fails, and dies, exclaiming as he does so, "EUREKA! I have found it". He dies, however, before he can pronounce the formula. Margaret, her sister, and her two brothers are again ~~restored~~ saved by Margaret's exertions, and their lives are not completely ruined by his quest, though they have been greatly harmed by it.

In this all-devouring quest, Claes comes to believe that man too is only a piece of mechanism, and that the secret of personality is a chemical formula. As an example of this religion of science M. Claes gives his wife the following exposition of his theory. "Man, representing the highest point of intelligence, is a piece of mechanism which possesses the faculty of thought, one-half of creative power. And combustion is accordingly more intense in man than in any other animal organism; its effects may be in a measure traced by the presence of phosphates, sulphates, and carbonates in the system, which are revealed by analysis. What are these substances but traces of the action of electric fluid, the life-giving principle? Should we not look

to find the compounds produced by electricity in greater variety in man than in any other animal? Was it not to be expected that man would possess greater faculties for absorbing larger quantities of the Absolute element, greater powers of assimilating it, an organization more perfectly adapted for converting it to his own uses, for drawing from it his physical force, and his mental power? I am sure of it. Man is a mattress. In my opinion the idiot's brain contains less phosphorus, less of all the products of electro-magnetism, which are redundant in the madman; they are found in their right proportion in the brain of the man of genius. The porter, the dancer, the universal lover, and the glutton misdirect the force stored up in their system through the agency of electricity. Indeed, our sentiments....."

"That is enough, Balthazar", says his wife. "You terrify me; these are blasphemies. What, my love for you is....."

"Matter etherealized, and given off," answered Claes, "the secret, doubtless, of the Absolute. Only think of it! If I should be the first...I the first...if I find it out...if I find...if I find....!"....."I will make metals, I will make diamonds, all that nature does I will do."

Mme. Claes, a fine woman, deeply in love with her husband, remonstrates with him, tries to help him, but fails. "Science had Balthazar in its clutches; the disasters that befell the armies of France, the first fall of Napoleon, the return of the exiled Bourbons, all the events of those eventful years could not draw his attention from his studies; he was no longer a citizen, as he had ceased to be a husband and a father. He was a chemist."

A story of this sort is a study of the exceptional case, and is indeed more pathological than real. It is the story of the hero of the romantic quest turned monster, losing his perspective and balance of objections. It is Titanic, as a hurricane is Titanic; powerful as a fly-wheel without balance is powerful; it reveals man's motives as through a powerful microscope,

enormously enlarged. As a literary exposition of the romantic quest, and of its hero, the story is a superb success. One's only complaint is that the hero is not human; he is gigantic, but not heroic; a monster and not a man.

One of the few humorous stories of the philosopher's stone is this one in which Balzac travesties the supernatural machinery of Maturin's famous story, a story entitled "Melmoth Réconcilié" (1835).

"Melmoth Reconciled" is the story of a bank cashier who has a mistress, goes in debt for her, and finally steals 500,000 francs, planning to get out of the country before he is caught. He is met by Melmoth, told of his crime, and threatened with twenty years imprisonment if he refuses to sell his soul to the devil, and receive from John Melmoth his fatal gift of immortality. He consents, receives it, and Melmoth with the dark eyes calls for a priest, repents, is absolved, and dies. The cashier then goes to work to experiment with all the vices and powers of man, and to his disgust he finds them all "wanting". He is a tortured soul, as is usually the case, his own conscience troubling him, though he declines to do any good with the devil's money which he has in his clutches. In this he differs, say, from Colwin's St. Leon, and Disraeli's Zerkow, who are quite philanthropic. Finally he wonders what the *vis irae* means, and the feeling of humanity for religious awe and divinity and immortality gets to be a great plague in his life. This single faculty which is lacking to him becomes an obsession, and he tries to find out God. The only way he can do so is to trade his gift to another soul in trouble, get absolved, and die.

A. M. Claparon, a stock broker who is in difficulties, is the victim he selects. Claparon succumbs very readily, and shows that he thinks he has struck a good bargain. The cashier then sends for the priest and lies absolved. M. Claparon too soon becomes dissatisfied, and calls the notary to a notary, the notary to a cross painter, and the house painter to a clerk. The

clerk goes into a thirteen days debauch with his mistress, which is too much even for a man endowed with immortal life, and it kills him. The secret is thus lost; and try as the German demonologists will, study the works of Jacob Boehme as they will, they cannot recapture it.

After this somewhat sardonic fling at the philosopher's stone theme, Balzac turns again to a serious story of introspection, and writes one of the best of his so-called Philosophical Studies, a story of a Swedenborgian mystic. "Seraphita" (1835), is the story of a mystical Swedish girl who is thoroughly indoctrinated with Swedenborgianism, and who by means of this mysticism has attained occult powers of influence over her own mind, and over the minds of others, as well as over some of the forces of nature.

Minna and Wilfrid, two lovers, are the laboratory for her experiments; to Wilfrid she always appears as a woman, and to Minna as a man. Her sex is unknown, as she, or he, has never been seen entirely nude. They waver between loving and hating her, loving her when she is at hand, and hating her when she is absent. The source of her power is in the occult science which teaches her that "we are born to aspire skyward". She seeks in them a companion to go with her to the realms of light, as she is like a flower which has been "scorched by too fierce a sunbeam", and hence has not long to live. Each is anxious to be the companion, but neither is sufficiently a mystic to avoid all that goes with the love of humanity; which displeases her, or him. When they are with Seraphita, "the veil is rent, and Revelation is seen without disguise", but once away they sink back to human things, away from abstractions, into the heritage of the mortal. After much revelation, however, which takes in Swedenborg's doctrines, and almost all known philosophy and science, and mystical speculation, Seraphita dies, and is wafted into the "intermediate" of the spirit world, leaving Minna and Wilfrid and even the skeptical pastor Becker all resolving "to go to God".

The pastor's account of her and the old man who is her attendant is a good skeptical view. He says, "Poor girl: she has inherited from her parents the fatal enthusiasm which misleads mystics, and makes them more or less crazy. She fasts in a way that drives poor David to despair.... His mistress, whose incomprehensible language he has adopted, is to him the breeze and sunshine; to him her feet are diamonds, her forehead crowded with stars; she moves environed by a white and luminous halo; her voice has an accompaniment of music; she has the gift of becoming invisible. Ask to see her; he will tell you that she is wandering through astral worlds. It is difficult to believe such fables..... Luncker, the fisherman, declares that he has seen her plunging into the fiord and coming to the surface in the form of an eider-buck, or walking on the waves during a storm. Jergens, who tends the herbs of the sister, says that, in rainy weather, he has seen the sky always clear over the Swedish castle, and always blue over Seraphita's head if she goes out. Several women hear the chords of an immense organ when Seraphita comes to church, and ask their neighbors quite seriously if they also do not hear it."

"Belief is a feeling. Relief is a gift. To believe in God you must feel God", Seraphita says. And again, "Your most exact sciences, your boldest speculations, your brightest flashes of light, are but clouds. Above them all is the sanctuary, whence the true light is shed." And farther on, she adds, "None but the loftiest spirits open to faith, can discern Jacob's mystical stair." According to Seraphita there are numerous stages of existence, and we are reborn until we are ready to pass into the last and perfect stage. "The qualities we acquire, and which slowly grow up in us, are the invisible bonds binding each of these existences to the next; the soul alone remembers them, since matter has no memory for spiritual things. The mind alone preserves a tradition of former states. This unbroken legacy of the past to the present, and of the present to the future, is the secret of human genius: some have the

gift of form; some the gift of number, some the gift of harmony; these are all steps in the way to the light. "He, whoever possesses one of these gifts touches the Infinite at once and for ever." Some of the stages we must pass through Instinct, Abstractions, Death, Suffering, Loving, Prayer, and finally a total absorption in the light of the everlasting Intelligence of the Eternal. "Do you not plainly hear the voice that cries to you, 'On! on!' Open in a celestial vision the angels descend and wrap you in song.....Let us write to hail the morning of the everlasting day. Bewild the dawn of the true Light. Why cannot I take my friends with me? Farewell, poor earth, farewell", she says, and dies.

After this death, Minna and Wilfrid stand "trembling and dazzled in a close embrace, as two children take refuge side by side to gaze at a conflagration--that Life gave no hold to the senses. The Spirit was above them; it shed fragrance without colour, and melody without the help of sound; here, where they knelt, there were neither surfaces nor angles, nor atmosphere."

There is a philosophical beauty, and a clarity of atmosphere here that distinguishes Seraphita from the former passionate pilgrims of Balzac. Though Seraphita too is a mystic of only one abstraction, her quest is more ideally portrayed, and she touches by her interest in Minna and Wilfrid on something very like a human significance. The scenery of the cold northern latitudes is so used as to add transparency to Seraphita's quest, and to correspond in its purity to the flower-like rapture of her soul's aspiration. Like the other characters of Balzac, Seraphita is a walking theorem, only here the romantic ideal is more beautifully portrayed.

The studies of Balzac in the romantic quest, though read by Englishmen soon after they were written, did not seemingly influence the authors of romantic novels in England. Balzac's influence was with the realists. This rise of realism and of sensation in Dickens, Melie, and Collins, and of a quieter

attention to common sense in Thackeray and Trollope, was, as we have seen, during the forties, crowding romance out of popularity. Nevertheless, more romantic tales continued to be published than is generally supposed, and the hero of the romantic quest, though no longer so important as in the novels from 1827 to 1833, is a figure closely in touch with the age, and of some historical significance. It is noteworthy that with the revival of romantic themes in the 1840's which followed Marryat's somewhat objective heroes, English fiction did not turn to the wilder spiritual and passionate suggestions of Balzac's stories. Instead, it still clings to the romance of the political quest and to the religious aspirations, abandoning, except for Zanoni, the Gothic dreams and heroes as no longer credible to the modern imagination.

IX.

THE COMPLETE REHABILITATION OF THE NEGRO BY MISS MARTINEAU'S "THE HOUR AND THE MAN" 1841, AND LITTON'S "ZANONI" 1842.

Turning now from these sensational romances of the fourth decade with their over emotionalism, and their lack of idealizing visions, we find in the fifth decade a revival of interest in the more spiritual heroes of romantic insight. Though the novel of the time was becoming predominantly realistic, it still left room for visions of social and religious perfectibility, and as we shall see later, had little influence in permanently checking even the more eccentric forms of the romantic quest. The first novel of the fifth decade to present as a hero of the romantic quest a character in the new mood of what may be termed realistic romance, was Miss Martineau's story "The Hour and the Man" (1841).¹ This story, sometimes called an early Uncle Tom's Cabin, is a romance of life, a semi-historical novel, dealing with the character and quest of the great black hero of liberation, Toussaint L'Ouverture. In view of the rather surprising character drawing, and because of the pictures of historical value here presented, it is regrettable that "The Hour and the Man" has not impressed historians of fiction. Cross, Saintsbury, and Holliday do not mention it. Whiteford contents himself with the five fold iteration that it was an anti-slavery novel, and Miss Scarborough does not include it in her realm of the Supernatural. Though not so pathetic as Uncle Tom's Cabin, its hero is a greater figure, and more significant of the urge of his times than

¹ Harriet Martineau (1802-1876), The Hour and the Man (1841). The novel went through two or three editions in Miss Martineau's life time, and was then out of print for a number of years until it was republished in the Half-Dozen-Rocks series, by E. A. Baker in 1904. Wendell Phillips knew and admired the novel, making it a source for much of his famous oration in 1861 on Toussaint L'Ouverture.

any character in Mrs. Stowe's work. Mrs. Behn's "Oroonoko" (1688), often thought of as an attack on slavery, and Mrs. Follen's "Jonathan Jefferson Whittlow" (1836), had preceded Miss Martineau's exposure of the wickedness of slave holding. "The Hour and the Man", however, differs from the propagandist novel in that it is written primarily to glorify a hero, and to reveal his character, and the dignity and romance of the dream to which he devoted his life. Only as a secondary motive has it an anti-slavery thesis. The plot is concerned with the liberation of the negroes in Haiti under Toussaint, their fights, and the consequences. The hero is Toussaint, the black Man of Destiny, a hero born to lead his people out of slavery into the light of the new freedom brought in by the French Revolution. He is a man of mildness, firmness, religion, and élan, and feels himself, like the prophets of old, one of the Lord's chosen. His quest is for liberty, fraternity, and equality.

In her portrayal of the deeds of Toussaint and the motives that actuated him, Miss Martineau seems to have kept close to the historical sources.¹ It is in the imagination with which she depicts the scenes of the island, the spirit of terror and romance attending its days of bloody and war, and in the skill with which she enables us to feel the supernatural forces which seemed to inspire Toussaint, that she is original. To Miss Martineau Toussaint is the hero sublimely inspired, summing up in his quest the aspiration and dreams of a people. Their barbarities and extravagances he calms by right of the quiet sublimity of his nature, and his faith in the great cause whose instrument he is. Whether Toussaint felt this driving intoxication of destiny as

¹ E. A. Baker, Introduction, E. Martineau, The Hour and the Man (1904), and in the same edition Miss Martineau's statements in the Appendix regarding her sources. These were: Bainbridge's Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti (); Past and Present State of Hayti, Quarterly Review V. LII; Bryan Edwards, St. Domingo (); Toussaint L'Ouverture, Biog. Universelle; and Haytian Papers, Prince Sanders.

sublimely as Miss Martineau believes, it is impossible now to judge. There is in his speeches and actions much warrant for her view. At any rate it was with dramatic instinct that Miss Martineau selected just this element of the divinely inspired quest as the chief motive in the soul of her hero, glorifying and romanticizing him by that means. In Toussaint, the wild rebel of revolution is no longer heroic. Her hero is romantic, questing toward freedom, but in his passion there is calm, faith, and the certainty of the success of the democratic experiment of which he is the symbol.

The main part of the story is concerned with the negro rebellion in Haiti against Napoleon, and against Napoleon's attempts to reinstate the French emigrés and the institution of slavery in the French colony. For ten years the negroes, under the leadership of Toussaint, succeed in repelling the French, but at the end of that time, in 1801, Toussaint is captured by trickery, and taken at the age of sixty to lie in a prison in France. The heroes whom Toussaint delights to honor and of whose lives and ideals he models his own career, were Epictetus, George Washington, Lancelotti, Scipio, and Cato. Toussaint, beginning as a slave gradually improves his own mind and spirit until his character becomes a kind of embodiment of these historical heroes. Toussaint is at first a slave who is loyal to his master, and to his king, Louis XVI. He realizes, however, when THE HOUR strikes, and the king is killed, and LIBERTY is proclaimed for the blacks by the French Assembly, that "God has raised us to the difficult duties which we have always revered in the whites". Though he is reproved for this new attitude by a Spanish priest, who wishes him to be loyal still, but loyal to Spain and not to France or liberty, he says, "Father, I cannot yield to your admonition. Reprove me as you will, I cannot. There is a voice within me stronger than yours."¹ He is acclaimed by the blacks, and becomes the universal idol of his people, stops a massacre, saves the lives of the whites, restores their property if they

¹ Harriet Martineau, The Hour and the Man (1841) chap. VI.

stay in the island, and begins the wage system. In a scene of triumph he is
 greeted by the crowd. This he feels humbled rather than exalted, and
 goes out to walk by himself. His nobility of soul is here revealed by his faith
 and his humility. "He placed the shrodderies cool with moonlight and with dews;
 and his agitation subsided when all eyes but those of heaven were withdrawn.
 Here no flatteries met his ear, - no postures of admiration made him drop his
 eyes abashed. Constrained as he yet felt himself in equal intercourse with
 whites, new to his recognised freedom, unaccustomed in his acts, uncertain of the
 future, and (as he believed) unprepared for such a future as was now unfolding,
 there was something irrepressibly irksome and humbling in the homage of the
 whites, - of men who understood nothing of him, and little of his race, and who
 could have done but political purposes in their intercourse with him. He
 needed this evening the sincerities as well as the soothing of nature; and
 it was with a sense of relief that he cast himself once again on her bosom,
 to be instructed, with infantine belief, now small an atom he was in the
 universe of God, - how low a rank he held in the hierarchy of the ministers of
 the Highest. "Yet I am one!" thought he."¹

A sublime sense of justice is the driving force which exalts Toussaint
 in his endeavours. He has no lust like Napoleon for dominion. "Deal justly
 with me", is his magnificent prayer to God, "and let me not see in my children's
 faces the look of authority, nor hear in their voices the tones of pride."²
 He believes that it is "by circumstance and not by nature" that the whites
 have been enabled to establish their authority over the blacks. This belief
 is rudely shaken by the barbarity of his own nephew who misuses his authority
 in office to pursue private revenges. Though this nephew, Royce, is to marry
 Toussaint's daughter, Toussaint does not falter, but executes him for murder.

¹ Ibid. chap. IX.

² Ibid. chap. IX.

Justice demanded the sacrifice, and Toussaint did not hesitate.

The contrast between the Negro Man of Destiny and the White Man of Destiny is shown by Toussaint's relations with Napoleon. From the first, Napoleon tries to get Toussaint in his power, but Toussaint refuses to be trapped. When urged to go to France to form an alliance with Napoleon, Toussaint answers, "Your ship, sir, will not contain a man like me, a man laden with the destinies of a race.....An unerring voice tells me that my allegiance is now due to the republic."¹ A further contrast between Napoleon and Toussaint is revealed in the conversation of a French girl Aimee with one of Toussaint's daughters.

"How whole nations quail under Napoleon's magnificent proclamations," Aimee remarks.

"Are they really fine? I have seen but few, and they----"

"Are they not all grand? That proclamation in Egypt, for instance, in which he said he was the Man of Fate who had been foretold in the Koran, and that all resistance was impious and vain! If it had not happened four years before Bonaparte went to Egypt, I should have thought your father-----"

"I was just thinking of that. But there is a great difference. It was not my father, but Laveaux, who said that the black chief predicted by Ragnal had appeared."²

Further evidence of Toussaint's saving humility is seen in his speech concerning his destiny. "I know that some---and the Overtures among them---were not born to live at ease---to pass their days in peace. I feel that some---and the Overtures among them---were born to suffer---to struggle and to die for their race. If you would know why, ask their Creator. I myself would fain know why. Meanwhile, the will of God is so clear, that I have devoted, not myself only, but my children."³ That this humility has in it something just as

¹ Ibid. chap. XIV.

² Ibid. chap. XXVIII.

³ Ibid. chap. XLVI.

efficacious as the iron of Napoleon's nature is shown by Toussaint's remarkable power over those beneath him. By his mere personality, he can reform criminals. eleven mulattoes try to murder him one night, are caught, taken to church, and it is a holy place, Toussaint says simply, "Let us pray". They agree, are pardoned, and fall on his neck weeping out their joy.¹ This is no iron hand; he would rule by love, but in dealing with Napoleon he carries this principle too far and is lost. NO RETALIATION is his formula for the whites, and HARD WORK and LOVE is his formula for the blacks. He maintains that by nature they are the kindest people alive, and it is only rapacity and ill treatment by the whites that makes them bad. To prove that the blacks mean well, he sends his two sons to France to Napoleon to be educated. But even such hostages will not convince Napoleon that the West Indian Man of Destiny has not the same sort of ambitions as the French one. He murders Toussaint for his pains without trial, and without justice.

As a hero of the romantic quest Toussaint is thus an interesting figure, for he combines in his character three of the chief motives that animate such heroes: a humanitarian spirit of benevolence and equality, a belief in the perfectibility of his race, and combined with these an élan or driving confidence that he is the Man of Destiny appointed by the Higher Powers to lead his people out of bondage. Miss Martineau has here given us the most real and appealing of black heroes. There is an Olympian calm in all that Toussaint does and is that marks him as great, disinterested, and noble. The romance of his career, the failure of his quest to find for his people qualities and perfections which they did not possess, and at the last the Promethean courage with which this real Man of Destiny met his fate at the hands of the shrewd Man of Destiny, these are qualities that give to Toussaint "the most unhappy man of men," a kind of Lincolnian appeal. One sees the fates of democracy working in

¹ Ibid. chap. XXVI.

this ill-starred superman, fates which in the long run win more perhaps from a Toussaint's defeat, than from a Napoleon's victories. His friends, indeed, were

Exultations, agonies,
And love, and man's unconquerable mind.

To an English taste the humanity of such a hero, far outweighs the philosophical and analytical art of the clearer and more consciously motivated heroes of Balzac's philosophical studies. Toussaint, a hero of the romantic quest for a democratised society, is a man of the world, and yet a dreamer; Balzac's heroes are abstractions of the mind, qualities of the soul seen in projection. It is to Miss Martineau's credit that she could combine in this novel a real age, a real problem, and a romantic ideal, in a hero of dynamic urge and nobility. Her Toussaint is nearer to the vital forces underlying democracy than all the fiery rebels of Byronism and the gentlemen coxcombs of Lytton and Disraeli. For her story is the romance of a social mass raising up for itself a leader, and struggling with that leader to find the light. It is an epitome of the romantic quest of the society of the nineteenth century on its political side, and Toussaint is to the blacks what Lincoln was later to be to the whites, the emancipator, the liberator, the people's Man of Destiny, the personification of the romantic quest of a race.

Though Bulwer Lytton did much to debase romance in the fourth decade of the century, he turned away from the sham passions of his youth, and in his next novel revived and improved the romanticism of an earlier time. While Miss Martineau was reviving the hero of political perfectibility, Lytton revived the hero of Esotericism made popular by St. Leon, Melmoth, and Salathiel. In "Zanoni"¹ (1842), Lytton makes use of the lore which we have reviewed in the outline of Le Quincey's researches of 1824. "Zanoni" is a

¹ For an account of Miss Martineau's interest in Zanoni as a hero of the romantic quest, as well as her strong sympathy for symbolical heroes, see The Earl of Lytton's, The Life of Edward Bulwer-Lytton First Lord Lytton (1913), Pt. IV, chap. II. This chapter also gives an account of Lytton's studies in the occult. For Miss Martineau's criticism of "Zanoni", see further in a note to the 1853 ed. of the novel.

story of the mystic brotherhood and their adventures during the French Revolution. At this time, only two of the original order are left alive, Zanori and Mejnour, as the others had long since grown weary of looking on a world in which the condition of their immortality was exclusion from human attachments and affections. Becoming involved in love affairs all but two had thus violated their oaths, lost their magic, become human, and died. The plot of this story, then, is a history of Zanori's struggles to escape from love, his failure, and his loss of his membership in the brotherhood, and the resulting catastrophe and regeneration which overtakes him as he gains death and love. Like St. Leon, Zanori differs from the usual elixir of life hero in that the principle on which he works is good, not evil; he has no desire to get rid of existence, as he can always do that by letting the elixir alone. Knowledge, power, and the pursuit of the Beautiful are all his but at the expense of that which the beautiful inspires in most men, i.e., the love of woman. With his knowledge, and power, Zanori works many benefits to men, cures them of diseases, protects the weak against the strong and wicked, and forewarns of danger in time to escape it. He is a universal linguist, historian, philosopher, has all knowledge, and can foretell the future. Such a hero can not fail to be of interest to men. Zanori is especially so to Glyndon, a young Englishman of daring spirit, who is resolved to discover Zanori's mystery. As Glyndon is a descendant of one of the fallen members of the brotherhood, Zanori feels compelled to reveal to him the existence of the Rosicrucian order. "There is," he says to Glyndon,

"There is a Fraternity, as to whose laws and whose mysteries the most inquisitive schoolmen are in the dark. By those laws, all are pledged to warn, to aid, and to guide even the remotest descendants of men who have toiled, though vainly, like your ancestor in the mysteries of the Order. We are bound to advise them to their welfare; nay, more--if they command us to it, we must accept them as our pupils. I am a survivor of that most ancient and immemorial union. This it was that bound me to thee at the first; this, perhaps, attracted thyself unconsciously, Son of our Brotherhood, to me."

"If this be so, I command thee, in the name of the laws thou obeyest, to receive me as thy pupil!" said Glyndon.

"What do you ask?" said Zanoni passionately. "Learn first the conditions. No Neophyte must have at his initiation, one affection or desire that chains him to the world. He must be pure from the love of woman, free from avarice and ambition, free from the dreams even of art, or the hope of earthly fame. The first sacrifice that must make is--Viola herself. And for what? For an ordeal that the most daring courage only can encounter, the most ethereal natures alone survive! Thou art unfit for the science that has made me and others what we are or have been; for thy whole nature is one of fear....fear of the world's opinion, fear of the Nicots and the Mervales; fear of thine own impulses when most generous".....

Though it is a great temptation to Glyndon to be initiated into an order where he can learn "how to command the beings of air and ocean, how to accumulate wealth more easily than a child can gather pebbles on the shore, to have the essence of the herbs which prolong life, from age to age, the mystery of that attraction by which to awe all danger, and disarm all violence, and subdue man as the serpent charms the bird,"¹ though Glyndon desires these powers, he loves Viola, and he still resists the temptation to become a novitiate. Zanoni attempts to dissuade him by fear, and by trying to get him to marry Viola. Viola, however, very perversely loves Zanoni, and at last Glyndon, giving over his quest as a lover, determines to embark on the romantic quest of the Rosicrucians, the quest for immortal youth, and mystical supernatural powers. The lure of nature to urge man on to such a quest Lytton reveals in the picture of Glyndon about to embark on the dread ordeal.

"One evening he had lingered alone and late upon the ramparts, watching the stars as, one by one, they broke upon the twilight. Never had he felt so sensitive the mighty power of the heavens and the earth upon man; how much the springs of our intellectual being are moved and acted upon by the solemn influences of nature! As a patient on whom, slowly, and by degrees, the agencies of mesmerism are brought to bear, he acknowledged to his heart the growing force of that vast and universal magnetism which is the life of creation, and binds the atom to the whole. A strange and ineffable consciousness of power, of the SOUL'S DIVINE CHIEF within the perishable clay, appealed to feelings at once dim and glorious,--like the faint recognitions of a holier and former being. An impulse that he could not resist led him to seek the

gistic. He would demand that near his initiation into the worlds beyond our world--he was prepared to breathe a diviner air. He entered the castle, and strode the shadowy and starlit gallery which conducted to Mejnour's apartment."¹

The results of Glyndon's initiation are disastrous. Left alone for a month he makes love to a girl in the village, and explores a secret forbidden room, meddles with the elixir of life, and is horrified to behold a hideous monster glaring at him out of the air. This vision remains with him, he is rejected by Mejnour before he is even initiated, and his life is ruined by bad dreams. Thus is broken on the wheel the mortal who mixes rashness and love with a quest for the absolute.

With Zanoni, the possessor of the absolute, fate deals with the same grimness. Strive as he does to escape the love of Viola, the Italian singer, he is unable to crush out his human feelings, and succumbs to his passion. The quest to keep free from the disasters of this love of an immortal for a mortal is the romance of the remainder of Zanoni's existence. Betrayed by Mejnour for his desertion of the Brotherhood, Zanoni retreats with mortal wisdom. Mejnour concludes,

"Age after age wilt thou rue the splendid folly which made thee ask to carry the beauty and the passions of youth into the dreary grandeur of earthly immortality."

"I do not repent, nor shall I", answered Zanoni. "The transport and the sorrow, so wildly blended, which have at intervals diversified my doom, are better than the calm and bloodless terror of thy solitary way, thou, who lovest nothing, hatest nothing, feelest nothing; and walkest the world with the noiseless and joyless footsteps of a dream!"

"You mistake," replied...Mejnour, "though I care not for love, and am dead to every passion that agitates the sons of clay, I am not dead to their more serene enjoyments. I carry down the stream of the countless years, not the turbulent desires of youth, but the calm and spiritual delights of age. Wisely and deliberately I abandoned youth forever when I separated my lot from men."²

Zanoni's satisfaction soon vanishes, however. At the birth of Viola's child it is ordained that she is to die, but Zanoni turns aside her doom by

¹Ibid. Bk. IV, chap. II.

²Ibid. Bk. III, chap. XVI.

selling himself to the powers of evil. All goes well, until Viola explores the forbidden room, meddles with the elixir and beholds the monster who is always watching at the cradle of her child. Horrified, she flees to Paris, arriving during the Reign of Terror. Zanoni follows. Viola as a stranger is condemned to death by Robespierre. Zanoni after raising the whirlwinds of passion against Robespierre, substitutes himself for Viola and is killed in her stead. The next day Robespierre falls. Viola soon dies of grief, and Clydon looks after the infant. On this his quest for earthly happiness, Zanoni learns the value of the limited, of having something to strive for, of the nobility of the human quest carried on as it is in the great earthly graveyards of death. Even the French Revolution, the quest of a people, for liberty and human brotherhood, Zanoni finally comes to see as a part of the great orderly progress of mortals from the limited to the divine. Of the Revolution he writes to Rejaneur:

"I have just returned from their courts of justice--bars where tigers arraign their prey....but I recognize in the crimes of mortals the dark wisdom of the Everlasting. I see here, for the first time, how majestic and beautiful a thing is Death! Of what sublime virtues we robbed ourselves, when, in the thirst for virtue, we attained the art by which we can refuse to die.....How natural to make perpetual life the first object of research! But here from my tower of time, looking over the darksome past, and into the starry future, I learn how great hearts feel what sweetness and glory there is to die for the things they love! I saw a father sacrificing himself for his son...mistaken for his boy... with what joy he seized the error,...exulting that his death saved his son...Where comes this courage? Because such hearts live in some more abstract and higher life than their own. But to live for ever upon this earth, is to live in nothing diviner than ourselves. Yes, even amidst this gory butchery, God, the Everliving, vindicates to us the sanctity of His servant, Death!"¹

This moral, that life is a romantic quest made noble by sacrifice in the service of love Viola repeats to Zanoni.

"My nature is not formed for this life, happy though that life seem to others. It is its very want to have ever before it some image loftier than itself. Stranger, in what realm above, when the grave is past, shall my soul meet after hour, worship at the same source as thine?"²

¹ Ibid. Bk. VII, chap. III.

² Ibid. Bk. III, chap. IV.

A grander, more complex, and more human Testosterone than St. Leon, Zerkow also has more of mystery, and more of the authenticity of the absolute about him than his predecessors. He lacks St. Leon's air of Calvinian self-righteousness, and of injured reverence. Unlike St. Leon, too, he reads in the riddles of destiny, and finds that even in the passions of men the gods are just. Love and not reason is his talisman of salvation. His goodness, his solitary grandeur, his fall from the cold severity of his vows, his nobility in sacrifice, and his skill in riding the whirlwinds of the Reign of Terror, make him the most complex of the heroes of immortality, and the most likable. His descent from Olympus, and his quest for love and happiness through sacrifice and the loss of infinite life, wisdom, and power, is a sin that endears him to us. Such a hero is, though without the glamour of Milton's Satan, like Satan, a critic of the Absolute. The divine gifts, he would have us believe dwell not on Olympus, after all, but by the firesides of mortals. The last great hero of the Celtic Romance, and the best, Zerkow stands as a symbol of the Many rather than the One; of the belief that in struggle not in possession; in the quest for the romances of mortality rather than for the high thin spiritualities of the immortal, is to be found life's happiness. His life was a sacrifice to such a quest.¹

¹ For a similar more famous version in French literature of the Wandering Jew theme, cf. Eugene Sue's The Wandering Jew, published in 1840, three years after Lytton's Zerkow.

PERFECTIBILITY AND THE NEW CHURCH IN DISRAELI'S "CONTRASTS" 1844,
"SERIAL" 1845, AND "LANCET" 1847.

The theme of perfectibility, which Disraeli and Lytton had revived in 1830, and which Miss Martineau again brought into prominence ten years later, from now on increases in power and artistry. Disraeli now continues his romances of the political quest, working as he progresses toward the more mystical ideal which he foreshadowed in *Alroy's Holy Pilgrimage* in 1833. During the middle years of the fifth decade Disraeli broke his long silence with the trilogy of novels designed to make popular the party of Young England. Their chief contention was that from 1688 to 1832, the year of the Reform Bill, England had been governed by a close oligarchy of King, Church, and Lords, that is, by a "Venetian Constitution", that now since the commons was in control, England was in a fair way to move forward, but that as yet no new principles had been supplied to fill the vacancy left by the destruction of the old Tory constitution. Disraeli longed for fidelity and faith in politics, and instead there ruled infidelity and disillusion. The quest of the Young England party, therefore, was for some principle of government which should restore the chivalrous spirit of the seventeenth century, the tradition of the cavaliers, and so supply to Parliament the leadership it needed. The materialism of the day, its utilitarianism, its selfishness masked as patriotism, Disraeli abhorred. Practically these novels of Disraeli had an enormous effect. Published in a "time of cruel suffering, which also stirred the spirits of Carlyle, Mill, Cobden, and Bright, they led to the new radicalism of which Mr. Gladstone and Mr. John Morley are eminent types."¹ Disraeli's method of reform was to draw in his novels persuasive portraits of idealistic young dreamers, alive and earnest as to public matters and the needs of the poor, chivalric and democratic in spirit, and on a passionate search for the ideals

¹ Cf. Frederick Harrison, Studies in Early Victorian Literature (1894-5).

and political machinery, that should bring in England's millerism. In other words this trilogy is an expansion, and an improvement of "Vivian Grey", and its heroes spring from the conception of English manhood there laid down.

In "Coningsby" (1844), the first of the trilogy, three figures deserve attention as heroes of this romantic quest for perfectibility: Coningsby, himself, the young grandson of Lord Cornmouth, a hero who deserts his selfish Tory grandfather, ruins himself financially, but wins a seat in the liberal Parliament by doing so. Disraeli was the model who sat for this portrait. Besides Coningsby, there is his friend Millbank, the sturdy, honest, high-minded son of a rich manufacturer, a humanitarian reformer drawn, it is suggested, from Gladstone; and last, Sidonia, the enormously wealthy Jewish friend of Coningsby, who comes forward to finance the career of the Young England leader when his grandfather deserts him. The glitter of Coningsby, and his remarkable genius, as well as the almost superhuman power and knowledge of Sidonia, the maker of empires, Thackeray made much sport of in his travesty "Codrington" (1847). The strut of charlatanism, it is true, defaces Coningsby and his good angel Sidonia, but the defect is not vital. Their main search is ideal, and some bragging and show may be pardoned them.

The character of Sidonia is an interesting survival of the Wandering Jew motive of the Gothic Romances. Like Zanoni, he finds that love is forbidden him, and his restless energy is compelled to seek other channels. Ideas alone interest him, and his search is for men of genius to perform his gigantic dreams of perfectibility, his visions of the rise of empires. From capitol to capitol in Europe he wanders, lending here, checking advances or encroachments elsewhere, and always controlling by his wealth Kings, senates, and leaders of business. Cut off by his Jewish blood from holding political office, his desire is to act as a kind of international Deus ex machina. His success is remarkable, and yet like the Wandering Jew he is always lonely, a

man of genius, but yet a little of an outcast. He is a symbol of the successes and failures of the Jewish race, a race making itself indelible, but honoured rather than loved, and always a little dashed and made slightly self-conscious by the tragedy of this inhibition.

In "Sybil" (1845) the theme of the struggle of Young England to wrest the power from the vested interests and to relieve the hideous condition of England's poor is continued. Riots bring matters to a crisis, and here the young Eremont, the genius of reform wins his estates, and sets about the reforms so badly needed by his tenants.

In "Tancred, or the New Crusade" (1847), the last of the trilogy, Tancred seeks for the talisman of perfection not in politics, but, as in "Contarini Fleming", he seeks it in what he termed the "wilder Judaism". Tancred is a young Jew of English birth, a boy of a poetic temperament, designed by his family for a political career. Against their wishes, he decides to abandon politics and go on a "quest for light in the holy land". Zionia is on hand to lend him his aid, and with that and the sympathy of a lady who later proves false, Tancred departs. By such a pilgrimage he hopes to find the light which will redeem Europe from her sins. Tancred believes that God talked directly to man in Jerusalem, and that therefore, if one is to have another direct revelation, he must go to the land of revelation to get it. The babel of European religions, and scientific research contrasts very unfavorably in his mind with the dreams of race and religion which he feels stirring in his heart. He feels the shallowness of the science of a day as compared with the religion of centuries, in solving human problems, and though he fears that "he is the dupe of boyish fancies", he determines "to advance to the innermost mysteries," to realize his "dream of dreams", and visit Jerusalem. Before departing on this mission, he lingers in the throes of a love affair with his mistress, a married lady, but when he finds that she is a Jewess, he departs at once,

determined "to penetrate the great Asian mystery".¹

The rest of the story of his quest for immortal light, is a mixture of adventures and fights with the Arabs and Turks in the Holy Land, of love affairs with a Hebrew princess who is not a believer in orthodox Christianity, and with a Christian Jewess whom he vows at the end of the book to marry, - though there is a hint that his family interfered, - and of his quest for the Truth on Mount Sinai. It is in a vision here that Tancred receives the light he has been seeking, and learns the true inwardness of his former quest for political perfectibility. Here it is that an angel in human shape, but "vast as the surrounding hills" appears to him, and announces in a vision, that "it is neither the sword nor the shield, but ideas, which are divine", that "the equality of man can only be accomplished by the sovereignty of God", and "the longing for fraternity can never be satisfied but under the sway of a common father. Cease then," the angel continues, "to seek in a vain philosophy the solution of the social problem that perplexes you. Announce instead a new doctrine, announce the sublime and saluting doctrine of Theocratic Equality",² and with this revelation the angel vanished. Tancred's actions, once he has received this holy light are wise, fitting. He lingers in Jerusalem making love to Eva, a young and sceptical Jewess, discussing with her the authenticity of his vision, and the chances he has of impressing Europe with the wider Judaism. His lady, quite wisely, thinks "very little." She says, "Europe is too proud with its new command over nature to listen even to prophets. Levelling mountains, riding without horses, and sailing without winds, how can these men believe that there is any power human or divine, superior to themselves?" Tancred is compelled to agree that it is true, and answers that the center of things in Europe is hollow: "In vain they baptise their tumult by the name of

¹ Benjamin Disraeli, Tancred, or the New Crusade (1847) chap. XXII.

² Ibid. chap. XLXVI.

progress; the whisper of a demon is ever asking them, 'Progress, from whence, and to what?' "Europe is without consolation".¹ Seeing his disillusion as to the romantic quests he has pursued, and the inevitable politics and wrong that goes with reform, Eva finally, says to him, "You no longer believe in Arabia". "Why, then to me art Arabia," said Tancred, advancing and kneeling at her side. "The angel of Arabia, and of my life and spirit! Talk not to me of faltering faith: mine is intense.....I am a Christian in the Land of Christand I kneel to a daughter of my Redeemer's race." There is an interruption and the book ends with the announcement that "The Duke and Duchess of Bellamont had arrived at Jerusalem". And so with a love scene, and the suggestion that the Duke and Duchess will save their romantic son from Arabian follies, the new crusade is at an end. A hero of romantic temperament of noble aspirations, and mystic impulses, Tancred is too infirm of purpose to bring any dream to the test of reality. He is in truth more oriental than occidental, weak of will, idealistic, visionary even, a mystic who falls a slave to the senses.

As in earlier times Vivian Grey, Pelham, and Paul Clifford, had aroused England to the need of progress in reform, in like manner these novels of fifteen years later called attention to the bankruptcy of England's political ideals. The quest for internal reforms, and for an empire of splendour and justice suggested by Coningsby and Sidonia, Disraeli supplemented with a hero of mystical aspirations. Coningsby the hero of young England; Sidonia the builder of empires, with his restless quest for a satisfaction which power never quite yields; and Tancred, the hero who would seek in a Wider Judaism a regenerating light for Europe's sins, wars, diseases, and selfishness, these were the heroes of the romantic quest which seemed to Disraeli significant of the aspirations and achievements of his age.

¹Ibid. chap. XXXVIII.

XI.

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT AND THE QUEST FOR A MYSTICAL VISION IN THE WRITINGS OF
NEWMAN, WISEMAN, AND KINGSLEY.

Besides the search for a political ideal of heroism and reform shown in the careers of Lytton's and Disraeli's heroes, the period from 1830 to 1850 was distinguished by a revival of interest in religion. Something of this mystical quest for the absolution of the heart, we have seen in the New Crusade of Rancred for the Wider Judaism. The race-pride and debasing of such a quest, and the corresponding ugliness and narrowness of the Evangelical sects in England helped to give rise to other ideals and visions. Within the confines of religion, the Oxford Movement, and a little later Kingsley's reaction against the movement with a masculine rather than a mystical or aesthetic Christianity, were the points about which the religious regeneration centered. A third motive but one outside the church, was the adoration of a classical elysium, a motive evident in Kingsley's "Hypatia", and reaching its culmination a decade or so later in the works of Matthew Arnold. It is worth some attention that both Newman and Kingsley seized on the novel as a popular means of carrying on their debate, and endeavored by means of heroic fiction to depict their ideals of romantic character, and of the religious pursuit which should dominate a son of the church in the nineteenth century. "Loss and Gain" (1848) by Newman was responsible for Kingsley's "Hypatia" (1853), and that, in turn, for Wiseman's "Fabiola" (1855), and Newman's "Callista" (1856).

The Oxford movement was a quest for the source of divine authority, and a desire to know the ways in which that authority is manifest among men. It tried to make the Anglican Church such a power, the direct inheritor of the Apostolic succession. In his "Tracts for the Times" (1833-1841) Newman carried on the debate as to the rights of Anglicanism or Catholicism to be regarded as the voice of God. In Tract number 90 written in 1841, Newman compromised with Rome. The result was a storm of protest: England was swept with an anti-

anti-catholic frenzy; the Tractarian Movement was condemned by Oxford; and Newman withdrew. His four o'clock sermons ceased, and in 1845, after a three years' struggle with his conscience, he yielded to his overmastering passion for peace, and became a Catholic. The best expression of the progress and culmination of this, the most famous conversion of the century, is, of course, Newman's own "Apologia pro Vita Sua" (1864). Reminiscences of this conversion, historically important as being then the popular expressions of the Oxford Movement, appeared, however, first in the novel. It was this first novel of Newman's that gave rise to what Professor Cross and Professor Phelps comment on as the war of the novels between Newman and Kingsley.¹ Details of this war, or the differences in their ideals of the religious character, or the pursuits considered proper to a religious quest, Professor Cross and Professor Phelps do not discuss. The novels that presented the Catholic heroes of the religious quest were Newman's "Loss and Gain" (1848), and his "Callista" (1858), with Cardinal Wiseman's "Fabiola, or the Church of the Catacombs" (1854). The novel of opposition, dwarfing the novels of Newman and Wiseman to relative insignificance, was Kingsley's masterpiece "Hypatia, or New Ideas with an old Face" (1853).

Newman's "Loss and Gain" (1848) is his first story of his life. Its history is that of a young Oxford student, Charles Helling, who becomes involved in the battle between High Church and Low Church, his struggles, his quest for truth and peace, and his final surrender to Catholicism. Helling, like Newman, is a combination of shrewdness and simplicity, a youth shy and bold, sometimes profound, sometimes satirical, but always dominated by the need to rise, seek, and not to yield short of finding some satisfaction for his restless, wandering nature. All things pull him toward Anglicanism, all, that is, except his conviction that his soul's peace, the truth of Christ, his future

¹ cf. W.L. Cross, Development of the English Novel (1907), p.145-6 and W.L. Phelps, The Advance of the English Novel (1915), p. 110-11.

soul's salvation rest with Catholicism. After years of debate, struggle, and prayer, the crisis comes when he has to decide whether he is to enter the church or to remain outside. And here, though his friends urge prudence, he finds that something within revolts, urges him not to yield, but to "seek after visions." To his friend, Carlson, at Oxford he says, "I don't think I shall be saved if I remain in the English Church...and calls me, and I must follow at the risk of my soul...I do not wish to leave you; but I cannot help it; I am compelled."¹

After he leaves Oxford, however, he still has a struggle before he decides to become a Catholic. Though he seeks for light, light does not come. This lack is overcome by a Catholic priest who believes that faith is at first dependent on the will to believe. "Faith," this priest remarks, "faith is a venture before a man is a Catholic; it is a gift after it." At length Felling is convinced, and decides to become a Catholic. The sureness of his faith that he has found the one way to get at the heart of truth, and that other ways are false, is revealed by a member of the Truth Society, who visits Felling the day before his taking the vows. Here Newman satirizes those who believe truth relative and creative rather than absolute. The program of the Truth Society, which is in essence a program of scientific method, Newman presents as follows:

ON THE PROGRAM OF TRUTH.

1. It is uncertain whether truth exists.
2. It is certain that it cannot be found.
3. It is folly to boast of possessing it.
4. Man's work and duty as man, consists not in possessing, but in seeking it.
5. His happiness and true dignity consist in the pursuit.
6. The pursuit of Truth is an end to be engaged in for its own sake.
7. As philosophy is the love, not the possession of wisdom, so religion is the love, not the possession of Truth.
8. As Catholicism begins with faith, so Protestantism ends with inquiry.
9. As there is disinterestedness in seeking, so is there selfishness in claiming to possess.
10. The martyr of truth is he who dies professing that it is a shadow.

¹John Henry Newman, Loss and Gain (1848), Pt. III, chap.V.

11. A life-long martyrdom is this, to be ever changing.
 12. The fear of error is the bane of inquiry. ¹

It was perhaps the weakness of Charles Keeling's life that he lacked courage for such a quest. The struggle tormented him, and the lure of the romantic longing for the absolute, unconvinced, gave way and seized as an opiate from pain the faith which his reason derided him. The result was Loss and Gain. He lost the world, Oxford, his friends, the approval of his family, and his ambition. His gain was, he said, spiritual peace. His entry into the church he describes with mystical fervor:

At the "Blessed Sacrament - it was the Lord Incarnate who was on the altar, who had come to visit and to bless His people. It was the Great Presence, which makes a Catholic Church different from every other place in the world; which makes it as no other place can be, holy."....And so Keeling "threw himself on the pavement in sudden amazement and joy."² And after his first confession, and admission into the Communion of the Catholic Church, he felt as though "he were really beginning life again. But there was more than the happiness of childhood in his heart; he seemed to feel a rock under his feet; it was the soliditas Cathedrae Petri. He went on kneeling, as if he were already in Heaven, with the throne of God before him, and the angels around, and as if to move were to lose his privilege."³

And so the quest of Keeling for the truth ended. Whether his losses were really more than he thought, and whether with the surrender of his will he did not also lose the highest heroism, is matter for endless differences.⁴

¹Ibid. Bk.III, chap.VIII.

²Ibid. Bk. III, chap. I.

³Ibid. Bk. III, chap. XI.

⁴For a modern criticism of Newman's yielding to the romantic longing for the infinite, see Paul Elmer More's essay on Newman in Volume VIII of the Sesburne Essays, entitled The Gift of Romanticism.

Yet it may well be held that the true mystics have been distinguished by their finding the infinite within, rather than in a surrender to any outer form of authority. It is perhaps in his need for a sign, and in his surrender to something outside his own nature that Keeling, and so, of course, Newman, was most romantic.

The belief that truth had been deposited with an institution, and that that institution was the Catholic Church was an idea intensely displeasing to most Englishmen, and one especially abhorrent to Charles Kingsley (1819-1875). His answer was "Hypatia, or New Moses with an Old Face" (1853). The theme of this novel was the conflict between Neo-Platonism and Christianity from 413 to 415 A.D., and the failure of Christianity because of its endeavour to take the kingdom of heaven by the violence of a theocracy. By the murder of Hypatia, who was the true seeker after the light, the Church of Alexandria destroyed real Christianity. "True", Kingsley says, "Peter, the Healer, and his works had conquered; but Hypatia did not die unavenged. In the hour of that unrighteous victory, the Church of Alexandria received a deadly wound. It had admitted and sanctioned these habits of doing evil that good may come, of pious intrigue, and at last of open persecution, which are certain to creep in wheresoever men attempt to set up a merely religious empire, independent of human relationships and civil laws:- to establish, in short, a 'theocracy', and by that very act confess their secret disbelief that God is ruling already. And the Egyptian Church grew year by year more lawless and inhuman". The kingdom of heaven, therefore, Kingsley believed, is to be sought within, and not in a surrender to an outer and arbitrary authority. The true sting of this retort lay partly in the known weaknesses of Catholicism, and partly in the fact that these weaknesses were exposed by the contrasting beauty of soul of the heathen votress of Neo-Platonism. She too feels the need of the divine, but hers is far too subtle a mind to embody divinity in a material institution. Her quest is for the divine

essences of abstraction revealed by Plato, and for a mystical absorption into the All-Good. It is in the character of this beautiful, learned, naughty, aspiring philosopher that Kingsley achieves his greatest success. The romance of her life and of her ideals are worth attention.

The theme of the novel is the decay of the Roman Empire, and the terror and violence that came on the world as a result, the chaos in men's minds regarding life, philosophy, and ambitions, the warring of Goths, Greeks, and Christians, and the quest of the finer spirits of the time for some permanent spiritual revelation on which to build. The quest of Hypatia for the Divine Essences of Plato contrasts with the quest of her two chief disciples, Raphael and Philammon, hers ending in failure, and theirs, seizing on the best of Neo-Platonism, and combining it with the new Christianity, ending in spiritual peace. Leader of the intellectuals of Alexandria, Hypatia gives her lectures daily to the little band of disciples who gather round her. Among these, the best of men are Raphael, a Jew of a somewhat heteristic but aspiring temperament, and finally, Philammon, a young monk of genius, son of a Christian hermit, and but lately sent to Alexandria. Dissatisfied with her own success in divining Plato's mystical essences, Hypatia thinks to take of Raphael, and then of Philammon disciples who may achieve the ultimate translation; but she never quite masters them, never quite makes them fully hers in the divine quest. Further trials discourage her. Her star is crossed by the distracting influence of two women. Irian, the witch, and mother of Raphael deceives her with a mystical fraud and breaks her pride, which is very great; and Palamida, the Aphrodite of the story, and sister to the young monk, Philammon, reawakes her in a vision for her hardness of heart in declining to lead her to virtue. Erring, striving, thinking, dreaming ceaselessly, Hypatia had the soul of the religious philosopher. More romantic, more an Alexandrian than Plato, she is tormented with a desire for the eventual translation of the spirit, the fine frenzy which once at least

in her life may make her at one with the gods.

Unable to endure the failure of her philosophy any longer, she had turned to the cheap witcheries of Miriam and had been deceived for her humiliation. This, however, deters her for a brief time only, and finally as a climax of her quest we find her working herself into an ecstatic trance in order to achieve "a mystic union", and become herself at once with the immortal essences.

"And so with a look of intense humility, she began to lay aside her jewels and her upper robes. Then, baring her bosom and her feet, and taking her soldier tresses loose, she laid herself down upon the couch, crossed her hands upon her breast, and with upturned ecstatic eyes, waited for that which might befall.

There she lay, hour after hour, as her eye gradually kindled, her bosom heaved, her brain came fast: but there was no more sign of life in those straight still limbs, and listless feet and hands, than in Paganion's ivory bride before she tumbled into flesh and blood. The sun sank towards his rest, the roar of the city grew louder and louder without, the soldiers reveled and laughed below; but every sound passed through unconscious ears and went its way unheeded. Faith, hope, reason its life were staked upon that daring effort to scale the highest heaven. And by one continuous effort of her practised will, which reached its highest virtue, as mystics hold, in its own suicide, she chained down her senses from every sight and sound, and even her mind from every thought, and lay utterly self-resigned, self-emptied, till consciousness of time and place had vanished, and she seemed to herself alone in the abyss.....

Far away, miles, and aeons, and abysses away through the interminable depths of glory, a dark and shadowy spot. It neared and grew.a dark globe ringed with rainbows....what might it be? She dared not hope....It came nearer, nearer, nearer, touched her....the center quivered, flickered, took form--a face....'God's? No--Pelagia's!

Beautiful, sad, craving, reproachful, indignant, awful....hypatia could bear no more; and springing to her feet with a shriek to experience in its full bitterness, the fearful repulsion of the mystic, when the lunar reason and will which he has spurred desert their God-given rights; and after the intoxication of the imagination, comes its prostration and collapse.

And this, then, was the answer of the Gods."¹

Such an answer was scarcely pleasing to Hypatia. It had Christian implications. Though Philammon had himself requested her to rescue his sister Pelagia from the worship of Apollonius, she had refused, fearing to incur the

¹Chas. Kingsley, Hypatia, Chap. XXV.

gals. And the gals retorted by showing her Helena's face in a vision. To all force to this revelation, Iaphig returns from a journey, and announces that he has become a Christian. Is not Iaphig himself one, and perhaps the highest one, of the archetypal ideas which Plato worshipped, he asks? Iaphig borders and wavers. Finally she determines to give over her school, leave Alexandria, and to consider embracing Christianity. Its exclusive divinity, and its democracy, repel her, but she determines that she will consider it. Peter, the leader, however, an evil, powerful, arrogant bishop of the Church of Alexandria, has determined to be rid of this threat to the side of the church. With the connivance of Cyril, then ruler of Alexandria, and by the aid of a mob, Christian priests tore her from her chair as she was making her way to her last class in the philosophy of Neo-Platonism, dragged her to the Casareum, then a Christian church, and after stripping her naked, tore her to pieces with oyster shells, and burned her body piece by piece in their fires.

And so ended her quest, noble and exalted, for the divinity of the soul; and so ended the divinity of the church of Alexandria. The moral was obvious. The spirit and not the church exalts the soul, and the pagan Hypatia was more of a saint than was produced by the ancient theocracy, or Kingsley knows, than will be produced by that modern theocracy - a new Poe with an Old Face, - the Catholic Church.

There soon followed two novels portraying the early Christian Church in quite a different light, and presenting heroines the parts of whose lives and characters was an example of the ennobling power of that ancient theocracy. In his novel "Fabiola, or the Church of the Catacombs" (1854), Cardinal Wiseman portrayed a heroine whose quest was to forget her pagan pride, become a bride of the Church, and to lose herself in the mystic reward of Christ. By the contrast between Roman barbarity and Christian humility and faith, Fabiola is gradually won over to a belief in Christianity. The story is one of the per-

persecutions in the reign of Diocletian, 303 A.D. Fabiola is the daughter of a wealthy Roman who loves his ease. She is imperious at first, unkind to her servants, and loving with great passion and selfishness only her young friend Agnes, a girl of tender heart. The endurance and humility of her maid Syra first astrophisms her, and the beauty and simplicity of Agnes' faith in Christ wins her over. Agnes, however, is betrayed by Syra's brother, Fulvius, who was I think the original for George Eliot's Tito in "Daniel". As a result Agnes and Syra are martyred. But the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church. By such deeds Rome destroyed itself, and Fabiola, who is at peace finally after a youth of pagan pride, restless striving, and fruitless seeking for that which could not cure her heart's longing, says, "The example of our Lord has made the martyrs, and the example of the martyrs leads us upward to Him. Their blood softens our hearts; His alone cleanses our souls. Theirs pleads for mercy; His alone grants it---We are indebted to them for our spiritual lives."¹

A more direct retort to the effect that salvation lay in a surrender to the Catholic Church, appeared in Newman's second novel "Callista" (1856). This Newman said was "an attempt to imagine and express, from a Catholic point of view, the feelings and mutual relations of heathens and Christians" in the third century. It is a story of the persecutions of the Christians under the Roman Emperor, Decius (201-251 A.D.) - Christianity then, as Newman pictures it, had almost died down, or was quiescent, when Rome became afraid of its influence, as it seemed to be undermining the empire. Decius gave way to the popular superstition, and Christians were hunted down, given to the lions, burned, drowned, and wracked.

Like Fabiola, Callista when the story opens was a finely educated but somewhat cynical Greek girl, proud and aristocratic. Though her lover, Apellius, the son of a Christian martyr, is of an aspiring and mystical nature, Callista

¹ Cardinal Wiseman, Fabiola (1854), Pt. III, chap. III.

neaps contempt upon Christianity. Her soul, however, will not let her rest. The culture and brutality of the Roman world finally repel her and with Agellius she espouses Christianity. Their quest for a divine peace, however, is not to be a happy one. The purity of their vision is in sharp contrast with the brutality, cynicism, disorder, sensuality, and love of glory and pleasure in the Roman world. The guests of the Roman world, power, sensual, bestial, throw into high relief the sweetness, power, and simplicity of the quest of Callista for spiritual ascension, and the peace of mystical translation. A picture of the seething mob of barbarians quelled by an iron Roman hand, suggests at once a contrast with the culture of love which in a quiet way was to make of these barbarians and their children, men. Most descriptive of the barbaric violence of the times is an incident in the African town of Sicca. A cloud of locusts one summer's afternoon descends on the city and countryside, and strips the place of its food. With famine comes plague, and with plague, food riots, and finally there arises the cry "Christianos al leones." The mob slaughters many of the citizens, and sacks the town, even the wealthy being attacked in their homes. The Roman garrison is powerless, until they hit on the plan of sending the mob outside of the city gates to the farm of the Christian, Agellius, who escapes just in time. Once out, the Roman guard assembles at the gates, and when the mob returns, pushing from behind in the dark, the Roman guard slaughters them mercilessly at the gate, makes them stay out many nights to be eaten by the wild beasts, and finally allows only a few to return to the city which they have despoiled. Effective, though harsh! No more riots were heard in Sicca for many years to come.

In contrast with Roman discipline, capable as it was of controlling barbarians in the above fashion, was something which the Romans could not control - Christian discipline. Martyrs they could make, but not slaves. The romantic quest for a spiritual culture, for the soul's salvation set them free. Though in the above riot Agellius escaped, the divine Callista soon after died

at the rack, a martyr to Christianity. Agellius is fated to live many years, and to become a bishop, but at the last he too is martyred. Both, however, achieve the mystic translation in the Church, and in their surrender of the world and of the self, they find in Christian charity and sacrifice, that heavenly chalice which their souls desired, and which they gave their lives to find. Foolish and vain as their quest was to a worldly eye, it was their blood that, like that of Christ, raised up a Church that could redeem the world.

Thus in the figures of Mercier, Charles Irling, Hyacinth, Fabiola, and Callista, the mystical quest of the romantic dreamers who drew their life from the Oxford Movement, was embodied in the novel. In the Catholic longings of Newman's and Wiseman's heroic characters, mysticism, and aesthetic symbolism combine, and reveal in outward signs the romantic secret transubstantiation for which the dreamers of the early nineteenth century longed. Their failure to carry their own generation with them in the divine quest did not deter them. In the romantic play of the saint's vision their souls were at rest, and with hearts at ease they could cast on God the burden of the times to come.

XII.

THE HERO OF THE ROMANTIC QUEST AS A SCHOLAR GYPSY IN GEORGE BARROW'S "LAVENGRO" 1851.

In the novels of George Barrrow (1803-1861), the Catholic priest, and church, play the roll of villain even more markedly than in Kingsley's novels. In "The Bible in Spain" (1843), ostensibly a report of his services in distributing the scriptures for the Bible Society, Barrrow began the romantic descriptions that in "Lavengro" (1851), and "Romany Rye" (1857) were to make him famous. For Barrrow is the creator in English fiction of a new romantic quest. Though he hated Catholicism, and distributed Bibles in a Catholic country to counteract Popery, his is no mystical quest for the soul's salvation. Indeed Barrrow's sense of sin, or of a mystical inclination seems almost as rudimentary as that, say, in a later day, of Samuel Butler or George Bernard Shaw. Philosophically a difficult person to sum up, "because, as his father complained, he "surrounded himself in mystery", Barrrow, himself the hero of his books, was a scholar gypsy, parsing words, his own case, vagabondage, gypsy love, strange languages, and romantic adventures, in Spain, and in the lanes of England. Like Disraeli, and Lytton, and Newman, his favorite hero is himself. But he was far more spirituated and tractable than they, more solitary, more fond of appearing mysterious, and yet by his gestures, his picturesque vocabulary, and his throng of gypsies, he fascinates, and invites us, if we can, to seek out the heart of his mystery.

The three chief characters of "Lavengro", are the author himself, Lavengro, who is the scholar gypsy; Mr. Petulchur, a real gypsy; and the man in black, a mysterious and evil Catholic priest, the woe of a land and her churches. The novel begins with a romantic view of existence. Lavengro is a subjectivist, who believes that things have no existence aside from that which they have in the mind. The first title of "Lavengro" was A PHILASOPHY the idea being that one world is so contradictory that little in the way of morality, ill or good, or better or worse, can be proved by thinking about it, or by experienc -

ing it; therefore it must be a dream; nothing is what it seems, and things pass before us without much relationship of a human or moral sort, a colored phantasmagoria of impressions, and of emotions. This query seems to be at the back of The Scholar's mind throughout: Do things exist, or is everything only a state of the soul, a dream, and are purposes but a vain pursuit and show? He asks this question of all sorts of people, and the best answer he gets is that there is a wind on the heather; life is sweet, and if he is in love, what he needs is to put on the gloves and fight, and change his love for something positive even if physical. The Bible comforts the old Apple Woman, and eventually, the Evangelist who thinks he has committed the unpardonable sin; but Lavenro does not himself emphasize the spiritual side of his own career. Combined with this unreality of apprehension, a quality that recalls Coleridge, there is in Lavenro a strange and fatal inhibition of temperament which keeps him from pursuing any good and useful occupation. As with Coleridge, "as soon as a thing became a duty, it became impossible." He gives up law to learn Armenian, though he has no notion of using it; he drops authorship to become a member of old pots and pans and travel in English lanes as a tinker. He is without the usual ambitions, though he desires the fame of having his translation of *At Gwilym* published. Subjectivity, and a certain eccentricity that keeps him from the rut of regularity and duty, then, are at once noticeable in him.

To Lavenro the value of a thing is measured by its unusual quality, by its oddity, and strangeness. Both intellectual and personal affairs are brought to these tests. He values the usual forms of fame, the highest cultural languages, the monuments which civilization has set up not at all, but prefers the remote, the unknown, the unusual. Armenian is better than Greek, and Welsh and Irish and Danish are better than French, English, and German, because they open to his view strange and exotic peoples, odd signs of language and custom. He travels in Portugal and Spain, and in the East for the same sort of traffic. To be a Doctor

of Laws or a Professor in a University, or a Statesman, is to him merely turning the round of the conventional and unobjectionable. The thing to be is a gypsy, a wise but vagabondish rover, a caresser of life, but not a liver. This touchiness of the intellect that rejects all but the rarest, the oddest, the most useless, he carries into his personal relationships. He himself likes to be thought unusual, and strange. He "covers himself with mystery"; it is his delight to keep others guessing. He pretends to have liked his brother and father, but he does nothing to show it, and wanders off and leaves his brother to fend for himself almost without a word. He has no ambition to raise a family, never falls in love, except with himself and his own ease, cares little for art or history, except the history of languages, and little for science, and seemingly, little for great literature.

To give samples of his quality, and so reveal the spirit of his quest for the romance of ability, of adventure, or of the lure of that which lies in a temperament that may flower at any moment in some weird saying or unconventional act or gesture, is difficult. Yet it is in just such subtleties that the essence of the scholar gypsy is to be had, and the secret of his quest revealed. It is true that he has no notion of the infinite blue flower which seduced Novalis. Lovers are pursued no dream ladies, no nymphs, and has no emotionally irresistible passion which lures him to destruction or glory, but he is, nevertheless, on a romantic quest. A mysterious and sullen apathy of revolt is the negative power which inhibits his taking joy in conventional duties and pleasures. No ideal, no religion, prevents his success. The inhibition lies in his temperament, and in his inability to value that which is not a part of that temperament. Positively, he is led on to a hope of satisfaction, not in any ultimate, or mystical dream-like talisman, but in a multitude of talismans. As with Peter, he is the quest to burn always, be always at the focus of sensation, and catch the wonder of strange colors and odours as they change and reform. Exuberant

beauty is his mistress, and whether he finds it in little known languages, customs, signs, or superstitions, or in his own whims, in being mysterious, or in drinking as only he could drink a glass of beer, he is content.

Running the round of conventional men he is oppressed. His ego demands more room. And so he finds no meaning in life. But set him among gypsies where he can swagger a little both before the ruler and the gypsies, and his melancholy is cured. Let him state his own case as he goes to the tinker.

"Tinker: It's a fine thing to be a scholar.

Myself: Not half so fine as to be a tinker.

Tinker: How you talk.

Myself: Nothing but the truth: what can be better than to be one's own master? Now a tinker is his own master, a scholar is not. Let us suppose the best of scholars, a schoolmaster, for instance, for I suppose that you will admit that no one can be higher in scholarship than a schoolmaster; do you call his a pleasant life? I don't; we should call him a school-slave, rather than a schoolmaster. Only conceive him in blessed weather like this, in his school, teaching children to write in copy-books, "Evil communications corrupt good manners", or "You cannot learn pitch without defilement",.... or to read out of Sanford and Warner. Only conceive him, I say, struggling in such guise from morning till night, without any rational enjoyment but to rest the children. Would you compare such a life's life as that with your own--the happiest under heaven--true life, as the Germans would say,--pitching your tent under the pleasant hedge-rows, listening to the song of the feathered tribes, collecting all the leaky kevelles in the neighbourhood, collecting and joining, earning your honest bread by the wholesome sweat of your brow--making few holes--oh, what's this? what's the man saying for?"¹

It will be seen that Levermore lacked the mystical goal which summoned Arnold's Scholar Gypsy to leave Oxford and seek among the gypsies for the analysis of his "unconquerable hope". Levermore likes an audience too well to be a real recluse. Indeed in that audience he finds much of the romance which his nature demands, and before that audience he sings and poses, and in that audience he sings. As his biographer, Elvira Thomas, says of George, "He sings himself. He creates a wild Spain, a wild England, a wild Wales, and in these places himself, the gypsies, and other wilful men, and himself again. His whimsical character, his ways and gestures, irrefragable even when offensive, tell us while he is in our presence. In these repeated indoor days, we like a stranger, and who does justice to the size of the planet. He runs after biographers of extraordinary

¹ George Bernard Shaw, Levermore ch. 1. 1911.

marrows, groves, forests, prairie-land, and one is then indifferent to the indignities, humiliations, or sinister shadows. We live strange nights now, especially when they are dark and one no longer sees of poetry, sleep, or life: we are made the great herd or black herd by the roadside as easily as a cat.¹ Borrow, then, or Laverne, if that name is preferred, is a hero of the vagabond's quest for the variety and freedom of the roads of vagabondia; he has the wizardry of the story, and the heart seeking, and exaggerated self-interest of the scholar who is at the same time a romanticist. Like Thoreau he offered society a caricature picture as a cure for the ill. The gospel of vagabondage, however, is only for the aristocrats of the road. It is for the scholar to work in order that the aristocrats may live, live and write books to share the life hours of those who, like most of us, are moral, vicarious vagabonds.

¹ George Borrow, The Man and His Books, (1912) pp. 317-18.

VIII.

HAWTHORNE'S "ILLUSTRATED ROMANCE" AND ITS RELATION TO THE TRANSCENDENTAL IDEAL
1852.

It is a temptation to close this account of the quest for a mystical purpose in life as shown in the heroes of Melville, Twain, and Kingsley, not with the vagabondish gleam that tempted Darwin, but with an American treatment of the transcendental theme in a somewhat lighter vein. In his "Illustrated Romance" (1852), Hawthorne made use of the mystical dreams of the transcendental reformers who, following the gnostic schemes of Valerius and Plotinus, actually did attempt to found a Utopia at Frank Farm, near Tisbury. Hawthorne treats their experiment with light humor, as a kind of pastoral play which these well-bred New-England Unitarians, enthusiasts, and idealists who were tired of life were pleased to perform for a season, knowing very well that they could escape from Arcadia when they chose. In spite of his light tone, however, he depicts with exquisite art the wars of passion, egotism, and self-deception which go on in the breasts of his characters, and which ruin the transcendental quest for utopia in which they are engaged. The hero of this romantic quest is Hollingsworth, a rugged, shaggy ex-blacksmith, a man always in earnest, whose fierceness of spirit shows in his coal black eyes. He is a man attractive to women, and using this power, unconsciously, perhaps, to further his big idea, his intense, all-consuming desire not for a communistic utopia, but to found a colony for the reformation of murderers. This curious quest he at first conceals, but gradually reveals it as he draws occasional suspicions. The heroine, Sophia, a brilliant, rich woman of opulent nature, whose early life has been marred by a mistaken love episode, is the queen of Salem. Happiness is her quest, and for her it can only be had, as it turned out, not in utopia, but in Hollingsworth's love. This, Hollingsworth seems to give her, though he really loves her half-sister, Fanny, a wraith-like creature of mystery and alienation, whose nature it is to give him the worship which he demands. That

before matters are arranged between Hollingsworth and Zenobia, it is revealed that the money thought to have been Zenobia's is really Priscilla's. Hollingsworth then turns to her, deserts Zenobia, and Zenobia drowns herself. Hollingsworth accused by his conscience of her death, finds his egoism shattered, his quest useless, he himself a murderer. Priscilla takes care of the war that remains, a shattered, broken romanticist, the faller dreamer whose one remaining passion is romance.

And so the utopian colony goes on the rocks, wrecked by an opposing quest, passion, and a suicide. Hollingsworth, the hero, destroys his own soul by doing a wrong to his own nature in order that his quest may prosper. As in "Eugene Aram", romance destroys the dream ideal, and the catastrophe of Zenobia's suicide reveals to him his own sin. With Zenobia, the restless brilliant nature, half hopeful that utopia will be had in establishing an ideal society, the moral is the same. Clinging her paradise in Hollingsworth's love, though she knows at heart that that paradise was made for Priscilla, she sacrifices her fortune, her pride, her honour, and even her sister, whom she betrays into the hands of a mesmerist, her old evil lover. Here too fate intervenes, and the heavenly cup is dashed from her grasp. Excess of romantic desire, a too great quest for immortality in love shatters her soul, and suicide itself leaves her not so empty as life thereafter would have done. Only Priscilla the sinless, mystical, parasitic girl finds utopia. This she comes to by surrender to Hollingsworth, and by finding a perfect joy in devoting to him a life of protection and worship.

What is the moral? The wind bloweth where it listeth, and romance dwells where it may. Perhaps Arcadia is to be had, if at all, by grace as much as desire. At any rate, the kingdom of heaven is not to be had through disobedience to the mystical laws of a man's own nature, and those who, like Hollingsworth and Zenobia, would take the kingdom by storm, find only an implacable defeat, and the end of all romantic quests.

XIV.

CONCLUSION.

With Hawthorne's romantic satire the progress of the hero of the romantic quest pauses at the middle of the century. In the heroic type of 1830, the amalgamation of Byronism with the quest for a social perfectibility seemed most noteworthy. From poetry the Byronic hero brought into English fiction new dream-ideals of desire in art, in nature, in nympholepsy, and in grandeur of passion, as well as a deepened sense of the sublime in the pathos of historical ruins and battlefields. In addition to these Byronic traits of character the hero of the romantic quest of the 1830's included in his ideals something of a revived passion for perfectibility. In the hands of Disraeli and Lytton, this hero developed into a saviour of artistry and political regeneration and we see in the Vivian Greys and Pelhams of the period, fops who would by an election be transformed into Parliamentary Napoleons, and rescue England from its ills. As a more sensational, and less romantic strain in the rise of these heroes of perfectibility, we find a Paul Clifford or a Eugene Aram, heroes who love men with such zeal as to rob and commit murder in the name of humanity, hesitating not even at the destruction of their own moral natures in the quest for the dream ideal. In the heroes of Captain Marryat, Jack Hogg, and Philip Van-der-Hecken, the romantic quest loses for a time its sublimity and subjective elusiveness, and revels quite frankly in the love of adventure, and in the hero of health and activity, whose search has more of the romance of action in it than of the subjective quest of the soul.

By way of contrast with the highly individualized English heroes of the quest, it was noted that Balzac, developing the theme in France, revealed with astonishing clarity and power the romantic passions animating his heroes. The defect of his emphasis on the romantic quest, however, was that his characters seemed to be scarcely more than embodied quests, abstract passions intensified

by romance to the point of frenzy, and thus more monstrous than human, and partaking more of the elements of philosophical demonstration than of life.

In English fiction the temporary exhaustion of the theme noted in Warratt's inability to live up to the subjective demands of the Phantom Ship's romantic quest, ends with the 1830's. With the negro air of Peverell, almost Lincolnian in his quest for a race's salvation, Miss Martineau revives the hero of large soul and depth of feeling. Her Toussaint L'Ouverture is a superman, without the usual trappings of royalty, libertinism, or nostalgia. His driving power is like some force of nature in its spontaneity. Rising from the people, led on by supernatural visions, and the urge of mass-longing for the ideal, Toussaint stands in fiction as a symbol of the outward aspiration of the western world, and of down-trodden men grasping toward the light. It is this power of Toussaint's to embody in an otherwise simple personality the aspirations and dreams of the white masses, that gives him the dignity of a noble vision, and the glory and color of romance.

As an interlude in the development of heroes whose quests were largely political, was the dying flame of the Gothic hero of romance in Lytton's Zerkow, a hero who was the last and the best of his race, a glorified St. Lorn. Perfectionism, however, as a quest for progress by political means, was during the middle of the decade of the 1840's, the dominating motive of the heroes of the romantic quest. In Disraeli's heroes of Tower, England, Charing, Charing, and Siberia, the romanticists of perfectionism are shown making their last fight with a Venetian Constitution and a corrupt upper class. As Disraeli proceeds in his portrayal of the quest, however, he seems to discover that patriotism is not enough; and that perfectionism is a religious and not a purely political quest, after all. And so he portrays his Thackeray, a hero of the New Crusade, whose quest is for light in the Holy Land. Thus for a time the hero of romance becomes an heroic dreamer, a Chivalier, an Alroy, a

Conjurini Hecate, or A Thuroat, a quester for a supernatural revelation.

A more serious treatment of the same in quest of a mystical revelation careers in the novels arising from the Oxford Movement. Charles Trollope (Newman), the divine collector, and Frolala, embody the Catholic quest for submission, absorption, and mystical revelation; and in contrast to these, is Kingsley's superb portrait of Hyacinth, the unchristian but spiritual votary of Her-Platonic quest; quest is for the inner mystical revelation, rather than for a revelation worthy an outward surrender to signs or to a theocracy.

Less serious than the religious quests of Newman's and Kingsley's heroes, is that of Hervey's scholar gypsy, Laverne, the seeker for the romance of the real, for the remote and old in languages and peoples, and for an unconventional freedom that will afford to the scholar the ecstasy and romance of the gypsy. And finally, in the romantic laughter of Hawthorne's tale of Whitelake, with its half serious, half dilettante transcendental enthusiasts, the romantic quest of the mid century comes to an end. In Hollingsworth and Temptation, shattered in excess of romantic longing, the dream of perfectibility ends in futility and remorse.

And thus in the last two decades preceding 1850, the theme of the romantic quest developed an opulent variety. Perfectibility, nymphology, art, mysticism, and gypsy vagabondage, were here either first set up in English fiction as ideals of heroic reward, or else were here made more complex and various than they had been before in English romance. Here the the hero of the romantic quest, engaging in his character and career these dreams of desire, achieved a more various significance and at times a greater profundity than was revealed in any earlier prototypes of the type. This increasing complexity and adaptability of theme, together with a corresponding increase of subtlety and life in the mind of the hero himself, leads to the conclusion that in making

the romantic quest expressive of the desires of an age, English fiction had in 1850 but just begun its exploration of a mine of great riches. Certainly it is that in the world of such a hero as the hero of the romantic quest such of the spiritual and social aspirations of England in the first half of the nineteenth century is as its small.

CHAPTER FOUR

A GLANCE AT THE HERO OF THE ROMANTIC QUEST AFTER THE YEAR 1850.

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This discussion of the rise and growth of the hero of the romantic quest in English fiction from 1790 to 1850 has attempted to sketch with some definiteness the chief examples of the type then appearing. The present section of the discussion makes no pretense at being either a complete or a very orderly discussion of the progress of the romantic hero after the middle of the century. Its design, entered on with some diffidence, is merely to reveal some of the larger outlines of the theme in the later period, as a sketch for a chapter of literary history which is yet to be written.

If the present study has been successful in disclosing the existence of an evolving type of romantic hero in the fiction of the first half of the nineteenth century, a hero closely associated with the aspirations of his day, and revealing in his quest various kinds and degrees of romantic longing, it is a matter of some importance to discover what changes, either of progress or decay overtook this hero during the latter half of the century. Do the romantic themes so far developed grow in complexity and popularity; does the quest succeed in developing new ideals of desire; and what, in general, is the importance of the new heroes of the romantic quest in this later fiction? Inasmuch as the present chapter is but a kind of sketch of new and sometimes insufficiently explored material, it has seemed convenient to retain much of the classification of romantic themes and heroes previously developed, adding to these ideals and types whatever new material is discovered.

I.

SCHOLAR GIPSIES AND GENTLEMEN VAGABONDS.

In English fiction the most complete portrayal of a scholar gipsy who is on a romantic quest is to be had in George Borrow's "Lavengro" (1851), already mentioned, and in his extension of the portrait of the scholar gipsy in "Romany Rye" (1857). The nomadic instinct Borrow no doubt found innate in him. Some of this taste for a wandering quest he may have acquired from his reading of Amory's "John Bunicle",¹ and much of it of course he learned from his own acquaintance with the wildness and romance of the gipsies themselves. There was during the middle of the nineteenth century a general interest in the gipsies and their ways which stimulated Borrow's interest, and which he in turn assisted.²

In 1853 Matthew Arnold, seizing on the theme of the scholar gipsy's quest for an inviolable shade, which he took from Joseph Glanville's "Verity of Dogmatizing" (1661), lifted it far above Borrow's strain of vagabondage, making it a spiritual symbol of the quest of a subtle and

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Cf. George Saintsbury, The English Novel (1913), p. 142.

2

It is said that there were in 1865 about 250,000 gipsies in the British Isles. In 1838 the Scottish Church had formed a society for their reformation, Sir Walter Scott having aroused some interest in them by his portrayal of such a character as Meg Merrilies in Guy Mannering (1815), as well as by his surmise that Bunyan was a "gipsy reclaimed". (Cf. Walter Simson, A History of the Gipsies: With Specimens of the Gipsy Language (1865), Editor's preface, and pp. 510-515.) Though Simson's was a work of great importance in collecting matter concerning the gipsies in the 18th and 19th centuries, there has been some research since which adds to the field. For a good running account of gipsy life, customs, and incidents, see Vernon S. Morwood, Our Gipsies in City, Tent, and Van (1886); and for an historical study of gipsies which delves further back into their history than Simson did, see David Macritchie, Scottish Gipsies Under the Stewarts (1894). It is a limitation of both these works that they deal chiefly with the history, language, and customs of the gipsies, and say little of their literary treatment.

poetic soul. The beauty of Glanvil's prose tale is itself an excellent description in-little of an early scholar gipsy of romance and aspiration, and merits quotations both for the currency which Arnold gave it and as an important account of the motives animating one of the first of scholar gipsies.

"There was very late a lad in the University of Oxford", Glanvil writes, "who was by his poverty forced to leave his studies there; and at last to join himself to a company of vagabond gipsies. Among these extravagant people, by the insinuating subtilty of his carriage, he quickly got so much of their love and esteem as that they discovered to him their mystery. After he had been a pretty while well exercised in the trade, there chanced to ride by a couple of scholars, who had formerly been of his acquaintance. They quickly spied out their old friend among the gipsies; and he gave them an account of the necessity which drove him to that kind of life, and told them that the people he went with were not such imposters as they were taken for, but that they had a traditional kind of learning among them, and could do wonders by the power of imagination; their fancy binding that of others: that himself had learned much of their art, and when he had compassed the whole secret, he intended, he said, to leave their company, and give the world an account of what he had learned."¹

This hero, in Glanvil a somewhat quixotic vagabond excusing his own wanderlust with a pretense of learning the art of hypnotism, Arnold in "The Scholar Gipsy" turns into a hero of elusive charm, flying the feverish contact with man, straying through the fields and woods in unclouded joy, and waiting a spark from Heaven, a romantic dreamer in quest of enchantment.

It is necessary to admit that in English fiction the scholar gipsy on a romantic quest has with perhaps one exception, never attained to the spiritual beauty of Arnold's hero. Arnold's Scholar Gipsy, however, has some importance in English fiction, inasmuch as at least one modern writer of gipsy tales has attempted to animate his hero with

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Rev. Joseph Glanvil, The Vanity of Dogmatizing (1661).

something of the divine quest which stirred the poetic nature of Arnold's scholar. For the most part, however, Borrow rules the realm, and the quest remains one for adventure, wonder, and romantic freedom, rather than for any very divine elation.

Robert Louis Stevenson, taking to the road in his "Travels with a Donkey" (1879), though not strictly speaking a gipsy, had some of the traits of romantic vagabondage and of the quest of a glory in the face of the morning not to be had in human habitations which made Borrow invigorating reading. Stevenson was himself one of the most romantic of men, a "faddling hedonist", as he said, whose life was a quest for adventure, variety, and strange experiences. To be lost delights him, for it tinges nature with the glow of the exotic, and unexpected. Visiting the Trappist monastery of Our Lady of the Snows, he notes with kindness and some diversion life as it exists there.

"A stern simplicity, heightened by the romance of the surroundings spoke directly to the heart", he writes. "I recall the white washed chapel, the hooded figures in the choir, the lights alternately occluded and revealed, the strong manly singing, the silence that ensued, the sight of cowed heads bowed in prayer, and then the clear trenchant beating of the bell, breaking in to show that the last office was over and the hour of sleep had come; and when I remember, I am not surprised that I made my escape into the court with somewhat whirling fancies, and stood like a man bewildered in the windy starry night. . . I was weary, and . . . disposed me to slumber. I was wakened at black midnight, as it seemed, though it was really two in the morning, by the first stroke upon the bell. All the brothers were then hurrying to the chapel; the dead in life, at this untimely hour, were already beginning the uncomfortable labors of the day. The dead in life -- there was a chill reflection. And the words of a French song came back into my memory, telling of the best of our mixed existence:

'Que t'as de belles filles
Girofle! Girofle!
Que t'as de belles filles,
L'amour les comptera!'

And I blessed God that I was free to wander, free to hope, and free to love."¹

¹

R. L. Stevenson, The Monks, Travels With a Donkey (1879).

It is the compliments of the nineteenth century's romantic quest which Stevenson here pays to the mediaeval romantic quest for absolution, peace, and the mystic translation. He listens with strange ears as to an old story no longer quite credible. A quest for calm! No; I thanked God that I was free to wander, free to hope, and free to love! A modern romantic seeker, free from the spiritual chill of mediaeval passion, abroad again in an unexplored universe, seeking the beauty of adventure, sensation, solitude, and the life of nature, such a hero of the romantic quest, more pagan, kindly, and various than the pilgrims of the Christian dream, is the hero of Stevenson's *Travels*.

In John Buchan's "Scholar Gipsies" (1896), the arcadian vagabondage of Stevenson's stories is continued, and its beauty and romantic feeling increased.¹ In Watts-Dunton's "Aylwin" (1898) the scholar gipsy theme rises in fiction to new heights of imaginative glamour and mysticism.² Watts-Dunton was originally educated as a naturalist, and saw much of the East Anglian gipsies, of whose superstitions and folk-lore he made a careful study.³ In his introductions to Borrow and Thoreau, he shows his taste for the romantic wonder of nature and the open life of gipsy-like wanderings. The story of the scholar gipsy, Henry Aylwin, is in its portrayal of character and romantic tastes obviously autobiographical. Aylwin,

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John Buchan (1875-), Scholar Gipsies (1896); A Lost Lady of Old Years (1899), also in Stevenson's manner; Grey Weather (1909).

2

Walter Theodore Watts-Dunton (1832-), author of a poem, The Coming of Love, similar in theme to Aylwin, was a friend of Tennyson, Rossetti, Swinburne (who shared his home for thirty years before his death in 1909), and, in his younger days had known Borrow well. He edited Borrow's Lavengro (1893) and Romany Rye (1900). His theory of romanticism he published in his essay The Renascence of Wonder (1903). For twenty years he was the principal critic of poetry for the Athenaeum, and wrote the important critical article on Poetry for the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

3

Cf. Watts-Dunton, Encycl. Brit. 11th ed. V. XXVIII. pp.422-3.

a poetic, highly sensitive boy with a gipsy strain in his blood, finds his life is the quest of an artist for the magic and wonder of love, and such a love as shall symbolize life and give the world a meaning. This dream-ideal of love Aylwin finds embodied in Winifred Wynne; but the shadow of death intervenes. Lost in a universe of darkness, without quest, and without meaning, he is finally restored to his beloved by the gipsy magic of Sinfi Lovell, a gipsy girl, who sacrifices her own love, for Aylwin's happiness. The symbolism of poetical character and beautiful scenery, with its wild, gipsy melodies, makes of the novel a kind of prose poem in praise of the renascence of wonder, and of the dream-quests of Aylwin in art, and love, for a mystical reconciliation of love and death. This reconciliation Aylwin finds in his reunion with his beloved, and in his determination to paint pictures which shall reveal the wonder at the heart of the romantic quest of life. In "Aylwin", therefore, is united the open-road gipsyism of Borrow's quest, with the higher mystical search of Matthew Arnold's scholar gipsy. In this late nineteenth century development of a romantic theme, we see again the progress of romance running true to its earlier forms of development. That which in Borrow's *Lavengro* was a quest for adventure, freedom, and the romance of the odd and strange, becomes in Watts-Dunton's *Aylwin* a higher mystical quest for a more spiritual romance.

Variations of the scholar gipsy's quest, treated with humor or with arcadian beauty are to be found in several writers of modern romances, writers who take their cue from Borrow, Stevenson, or Watts-Dunton. In Wm. J. Locke's "The Beloved Vagabond" (1906), one of the most poetically humorous of gentlemen vagabonds goes on a quest for the romance of Bohemian freedom. An artist of forty who has failed in love and fortune, Paragot, still nurses his illusions, turns philosopher, and takes to a life

of quixotic vagabondage. Impulsive, generous, reckless, he has more abandon and less respectability than the Stevensonian rover whom he resembles. In his scrap book Paragot wrote: "Thus have I come to the end of a five years' vagabondage. I started out as a Pilgrim to the Inner Shrine of Truth which I have sought from St. Petersburg to Lisbon, from Taormina to Christiania. I have lived in a spiritual shadowland, dreaming elusive dreams, my better part stayed by the fitful vision of things unseen. Such an exquisite wild-goose chase has never man undertaken before or since the dear Knight of La Mancha."¹ And in lighter vein he would remark to his "little Asticot", with whimsical tenderness, "I am Paragot, my son, a film full of wind and wonder, fantasy and folly, driven like thistle-down about the world. I do not count. But you, my little Asticot, have the Great Responsibility before you. It is for you to uplift a corner of the veil of Life and show joy to men and women where they would not have sought it."² Paragot's quest comes to little but day by day romance and charming impulses and improvidences; he is "a self-indulgent, quixotic poseur, extravagant in his jests, grotesque in his sermons, but none the less", as Mr. R. A. Scott-James remarks of him, "a real and fascinating person".³

A somewhat more absurd gentleman vagabond in quest of romantic freedom, was Lord Beiley, in James Prior's novel, "A Walking Gentleman" (1907), a lord of romantic temper bored with a useless life, who deserts on the eve of a wedding, and leaving his bride and family without explanation, goes out into the lanes in quest of romance. He finds it in the commonplace of incognito farming, whence, after his fling, he returns to

¹ Wm. J. Locke, The Beloved Vagabond (1906), Chap. III.

² Ibid. Chap. VII.

³ Cf. R. A. Scott-James, Modernism and Romance (1908), Chap. XIV, for a discussion of Locke's romanticism.

his bride and reconciliation. In "Fortuna Chance" (1910), by the same author this quixotic fol-de-rol is accentuated with Rabelaisian jests and vigor; but here the quest descends to melodrama and a search by trial for the villain, Ethan, the Gipsy. Something of a more vigorous hero in quest of romantic adventures is Peter Vibart in Jeffery Farnol's "The Broad Highway" (1910). A story of regency days, set in the forest country near Sevenoaks, it is full of tramps, highwaymen, fine ladies, and villagers; and in the romantic exploits of its hero and his love of gallantry and lovely ladies, Farnol revives something of the chivalric flavor of the deeds and days when knighthood was in flower. Peter Vibart, however, is a democratic knight, and his quest has about it a more modern, and Borrowian than a mediaeval romanticism, as well as something of Sterne's sentiment and humor.¹ "The Amateur Gentleman" () by the same author continues the adventurous young knight of the open road in the pilgrimage of Barnabas Barty, son of a retired champion pugilist, heir to a fortune, and on the road to London where he hopes to become a gentleman. His romantic quest is a healthy, vigorous desire for adventure, chivalric, and ending in love. The atmosphere, and the author's love for his hero, is perhaps more poetic than is the quest of the hero for his dimly sensed ideal of a gentleman.

It is not intended here to exhaust the list of scholar gipsy or gentleman vagabond romances, but to sketch in outline merely the progress of the themes and heroes developed since 1850. This, it will be seen, has been a progress in two directions, in Watts-Dunton's "Aylwin" towards a poetical and spiritual romance, and in Stevenson, Locke, Prior, and Farnol, a development of the humorous and adventurous joys of the open

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Cf. H. C. Shelley, Jeffery Farnol and the Broad Highway (1910)
V. 71. pp.523-5.

road, of nature, and gipsy-like vagabondage, with now and then a dash of artistic Bohemianism as an added charm. The chief heroes of this romantic quest, Lavengro, Arnold's Scholar Gipsy, Stevenson, Aylwin, Paragot, Lari Beiley, Peter Vibart, and Barnabas Barty, symbolize one of the lesser forms of the romantic pilgrimage which is now popular, the search for arcadia, freedom, gipsy-lore, and the mystical promise of the open road of life that leads to the end of the rainbow.¹

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For other novels similar in strain see H. H. Malot's No Relations (1878); Nina Wilcox Putnam's In Search of Arcady (1910). And for a modern study of the type, cf. Arthur Rickett, The Vagabond in Literature (1906), a study which treats of the roving traits in Hazlitt, DeQuincey, Borrow, Thoreau, Stevenson, Richard Jefferies, and Walt Whitman.

II.

HEROES OF THE ROMANTIC QUEST OF NYMPHOLEPSY.

The quest for the dream woman, which we have seen emerge fitfully in romantic novels previous to 1850, though scarcely yet an important motive in romantic fiction, thereafter acquires definite recognition and form. In Amory's "John Buncl", in Rousseau's "Confessions", in Disraeli's repetitions of the Undine legend in "Tancred", and in the hectic desires of Contarini Fleming for Egeira, Christiana, and his friend Musaeus (a male nympholepsy), we have seen this romantic passion, this sublimated sexual attachment gradually revealed. In Balzac's "Seraphita", too, there was a kind of Swedenborgian nympholepsy; and before that, Novalis' Blue Flower had revealed the ideal woman's face.

In Hawthorne's "Blithedale Romance" (1852), there appeared as a story within the novel, an account of a Veiled Lady, a mystical creature appearing in a mesmerist's show, a lady with uncanny powers, but always veiled in white. Determined to discover her mystery, a rather bold young fellow, Theodore, invades her dressing room. The Veiled Lady, who is, indeed, the dream-ideal woman, discovers him at once by intuition, and tells him that he may either depart or claim her for his bride. If he does the latter, he must kiss her before he lifts her veil, and if he refuses, but still lifts the veil without first kissing her, she will become a spirit and haunt him the rest of his days. Not having enough romance in him to venture such a quest, yet too bold to retire unsatisfied, Theodore, without first kissing her, lifts the veil of the mystic lady, and catches a fleeting glimpse of his dream ideal, and she vanishes. The fate comes true; Theodore thereafter is a victim of nympholepsy, wandering disconsolate, phantom-haunted by visions of the perfect happiness he has missed.

In a story whose sly humours and sentimental whimsicalities are reminiscent of Sterne, Richard Le Gallienne (1866-) wrote what is I believe the first English novel which is entirely devoted to the nympholeptic theme. "The Quest of the Golden Girl" (1896) is the story of an artist of thirty who, left alone by the marriage of his sister, sets forth on the road in quest of the lady of his dreams. A series of Bohemian love affairs enliven the quest; he loves much and often, but not madly, passionately, divinely; and so he still pursues the golden girl. On a moor he meets her, but her carriage drives on before he can make himself known, almost before he realizes that she is the lady of his Vision, and she is lost to him forever, or so he fears. And yet his soul tells him that "this apocalyptic recognition of her, as it had seemed, was no mere passionate correspondence of sex, no mere spell of a beautiful face (for such passion and such glamour I had made use of opportunities to study), but was indeed the flaming up of an elemental affinity, profounder than sex, deeper than reason, and ages older than speech.

"But it was a fancy for all that? Yes, one of those fancies that are fancies on earth, but facts in heaven. Perhaps you don't believe in them. Well I'm afraid that cannot be helped."¹

From becoming compromised by marriage in his further poetic love sallies, fate saves him, until one night in London on the street, he again meets his Golden Girl, now, alas, a deserted wife, and making her living as a woman of the streets. This, however, does not deter the poet. They live together in perfect happiness; her husband dies; they marry, and for two years the Golden Girl and the poet inhabit the elysian fields of

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Richard Le Gallienne, The Quest of the Golden Girl (1896), Bk.III, Chap. VI.

mystical delight. Then she dies, leaving him only her memory, and a little Golden Girl. And so ends a poetical story, whimsical, humorous, the story of a romantic quest for a dream woman, the Quest of the Golden Girl. The fancy and charm of this sentimental quest is portrayed with a rare grace and beauty. Le Gallienne is a fine hand at elusive romance, at portraying the lure of a whimsical dream, with slight touches of pathos. The hero of this quest, Le Gallienne himself, has something of Sterne and something of Stevenson in his nature, but his religion is the religion of beauty, and the goddess of beauty is his Golden Girl.¹

More fantastic than this story of Le Gallienne's, however, was one by Thomas Hardy entitled "The Well-Beloved" (1897). In this story, the hero, also an artist, Jocelyn Pierston, has a faculty, a kind of sixth sense, for divining the dream-woman, the Well-Beloved. It is his misfortune, however, that his ideal never remains long fixed in any one real woman. "To his Well-Beloved he had always been faithful, but she had had many embodiments. . . Essentially she was perhaps of no tangible substance; a spirit, a dream, a frenzy, a conception, an aroma, an epitomized sex, a light of the eye, a parting of the lips. God only knew what she really was; Pierston did not. She was indescribable. . .

"He never knew where she next would be, whither she would lead him, having herself instant access to all ranks and classes, to every abode of men. Sometimes at night he dreamed that she was 'the wile-weaving Daughter of high Zeus'." ²

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A witty travesty of Le Gallienne's story appeared the next year by Richard de Lyrienne (Max Beerbohm), entitled The Quest of the Gilt-Edged Girl. It assails what its author considered Le Gallienne's sham romance, incongruous symbolism in petticoats, and quixotic quest for an impossible dream woman.

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Thos. Hardy, The Well-Beloved (1897), Chap. I.

This dream-woman Pierston is destined all his life to pursue, but never to capture. At twenty he finds his Well-Beloved embodied in Avice Caro, a girl of the Isle of Slingers. Before they marry, however, the dream-woman departs. Returning at forty, Pierston again beholds his ideal bride in the person of another Avis, daughter of the first; and at sixty he almost marries Avis the Third, granddaughter of his first Avice, and now the final embodiment of the Well-Beloved. Failing in his last quest, he marries Marcia, a widow, and one of his early friends, and loses his faculty of divination.

To Hardy, nympholepsy is one of the implacable forces of nature, and his hero of the quest, Pierston, is a puppet, lured to an everlasting pursuit by forces over which he has no control. His nature is his goddess; he must obey. Convention, marriage, duty, wealth, all are as nothing to the compulsion of this law of his being, this romantic quest for a star-ordained bride. In variety and subtlety of character Pierston is scarcely to be considered; he is but an abstraction, like one of Balzac's heroes, a hero of one desire, one pursuit, a romantic dreamer in quest of a phantom.

Though nympholepsy is not today a romantic theme of the greatest vogue, it receives attention in some popular productions in fiction, the essay, and the drama. Bernard Shaw's Preface to "Man and Superman" for instance discusses the Don Juan theme as a romantic quest for the perfect woman. And in the latest number of The New Statesman nympholeptic longing is discussed in its relation to free love. "Many defenses", the writer says, "have been written of Don Juan, but they have all been based on the fact that he had imagination. Don Juan, we are told, is the lover seeking the perfect woman. He passes from one imperfect woman to another in quest of his ideal. There is a sort of noble fidelity

in his pursuit, as in that of a theologian who passes from creed to creed in pursuit of the truth. . . There is no more foolish heresy than the chase after perfection among human beings. Belief in the perfectibility of man or the perfection of woman is . . as wild an illusion as that of the man who climbed an apple tree in order to lay hands on the moon . . . Most of the advocates of free love have been hunters of the moon. They have been youths, Rousseauists, and Utopians. . .

"Those who theorize about free love may be for the most part Utopians. Those who practise it are almost without exceptions Epicureans."¹ And so the hero of the romantic quest is still popular, and a subject for the editorial pen, condemnatory, as usual.

In concluding this brief treatment of nympholepsy, and Shaw's modern notion that it is this "life force", this passion for a perfection in sex, that makes of man a superman, I turn to a novel written erotically rather than wittily, and upholding this fatalistic nympholepsy as an heroic ideal. "A Story Teller's Holiday" (1918), by George Moore, has for its main theme the retelling of the story of Genesis from the point of view of the psychologist Freud, personifying sex in the person of Lilith, Adam's other wife, as the goddess of eternal temptation, or nympholepsy. This nymph of sex or evil or wisdom, according to Mr. Moore, made Eden a place fit for the human race to inhabit, and even the angels Gabriel and Michael dream of her. So too do all men, even the nuns and priests of the celibate orders, who, in this novel of decadence, resort even to trial by temptation, to flagellate their senses in the service of the goddess of nympholepsy.

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The Sorrows of Free Love, The New Statesman, V. XIV. No. 363, pp.732-3.

III.

HEROES OF THE ROMANTIC QUEST IN NATURALISTIC FICTION.

Closely allied to the heroes of the romantic quest who pursued the dream-woman, seeing her face in the blue flower, and her spirit in the very heart of nature itself, are the naturalistic heroes who find in nature other guiding stars and feel their souls ruled by limitless laws. With Darwin's discoveries the way of the naturalist lay open to new analogies, analogies that the sentimental naturalists of 1800 would have shuddered to contemplate. For far from finding a golden age in the past of nature, Darwin revealed a nature of war and blood and slime, a materialistic nature of which man was but a casual product, and where man's destiny and origin were scarcely less doubtful and mean than that of the animals his ancestors. Here was a revolution, indeed, Copernican in its implication. If man was but a brother to the beast, then by what authority save that of a ridiculous pride did he set up as an heir of the gods? To this question the divines of Darwin's day could find no ready answer, and the path of progress seemed to be to investigate these natural laws, and to conform to their all-powerful dictates. Thus began the pursuit of nature as a materialistic goddess, and the portrayal of man as a creature whose destiny and happiness lay in conformity to natural laws. Merely to list the novels whose main motive conforms to this materialistic naturalism would be an extensive task. In Russia, Germany, France, Italy, England, and America, the theme has been powerfully portrayed, and heroes of this naturalistic quest, who find in nature the law for man, and having found it, conform to its dictates, are legion.

One of the earliest and greatest of these naturalistic materialists, a hero whose life founded a political party, and whose quest was to

become of enormous influence to the world, was the nihilist, Bazaroff in Ivan Turgenieff's "Fathers and Sons" (1862). A Russian novel, it soon became international in its influence, and practically created the new race of revolutionists, men urged on by Bazaroff's quest to make life conform to a materialistic anarchy of nature which is the negation of culture and kindliness. Small wonder Turgenieff was hated! Bazaroff is a dehumanized man, a cynical, capable, intellectual mechanism, that idealizes nothing, aestheticizes nothing, loves nothing; and yet a naturalistic mechanism, as selfish as nature, a goading, eager, adventuring revolutionist, bent on destruction, a hero without fear, without mercy, and without illusions. As a force he is tremendous and fascinating. Part of his fascination lies in his mystery. What does he want; what will he do to get it; how can a man of imagination be satisfied who reduces life to its lowest terms of science, energy, and passion? Bazaroff was the Byronic hero of the Russian Revolution, a modern Infernal Quixote; his quest was to knock the nonsense out of life; and to Bazaroff all that which traced its authority to sources outside and above nature, materialistic, scientific nature, was nonsense.

Of the Russian and European developments of this naturalistic hero of the quest, in Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, Zola, Flaubert, Hauptmann, and Sudermann it is not now the purpose of this study to speak. In England naturalism has scarcely ever been so honest, so thorough-going, and brutal as in European fiction. The heroes of Thomas Hardy and George Moore in England, and of Theodore Dreiser in America are perhaps the closest analogies to the continental type. But the English heroes lack any political implications, dwelling mostly in the region of the passions, and pursuing the violent loves and hates which, if we believe the authors, the

destiny which lay in the interaction of temperament and environment compelled them to pursue. And so to Hardy the heroic becomes merely the pathetic. Man is an animal trapped in the cage of natural law. What is the difference how he looks upon his condition, passively, bitterly, or with romantic hope in the future? There is no future; there is no justice; there is only law, and the end of that law for heroes and anti-heroes is the same, annihilation. So terrific a reading of the runes of destiny it will be seen wipes out the differences in men, each unit being but the puppet of his own nature and environment. And so with Hardy the hero of the romantic quest is reduced, unkinged, his idealism turned to nothingness, and universal darkness buries all. In Dreiser's heroes and in the heroes of George Moore's novels, the passions are not lost in so absolute a futility as in Hardy, and in consequence there is more opportunity for the pursuit of strange quests. In general, however, deterministic naturalism has done little to develop a hero of the romantic quest; and the reason for this is its too great pessimism on the one hand and its too exclusive animalism on the other. Romance must breathe free air, and for a quest, heroic actions must be possible. Materialistic naturalism has been friendly to neither.

IV.

THE HERO OF THE ROMANTIC QUEST IN THE FINE ARTS.

Art for art's sake is a slogan associated with the aesthetic romanticism of the 1880's, and one thinks of its leading disciples as comprising such a group as Oscar Wilde, Walter Pater, William Morris, Burne-Jones, Rossetti, Swinburne, and William Sharp (Fiona Macleod). In English fiction some mention has been made of the artistic quest for a dream-world of the imagination in some of Peacock's novels, and in the beautiful souls of Disraeli's romances. There, however, the emphasis on art as the end of life was only fitful, and not maintained as a philosophy. Beginning in the sixth decade of the nineteenth century in Rossetti's paintings and poems, and in the work of the pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood there was a new birth of the romantic spirit, a return to the wonder and mystery of the middle ages, for aesthetic rather than religious reasons. In English poetry the magic of Coleridge and Keats and the mystical intensity of William Blake went into the production of the new poems of aesthetic Catholicism whose spirit was that of the renaissance of wonder.¹

In fiction, however, as with the earlier influence of Byronism, romanticism of this highly aestheticised type developed late. With the exception of such satires of the cult of beauty as appeared in the Gilbert and Sullivan opera "Patience" (1881), in Mark Twain's satire on Oscar Wilde's idea of mediaeval life in "The Prince and the Pauper" (1881), and in the less well known "Monks of Thelema" (1878) of Sir Walter Besant and James Rice, prose fiction until about the year 1885 did little with the new romanticism. "The Monks of Thelema", a tale suggested by Rabelais' group of clever people living apart from the world in monastic solitude, was a

1

Cf. Theodore Watts-Dunton, D. G. Rossetti, *Encycl. Brit.* 11th ed. V. 23, pp. 749-751.

satire on the exclusive literary coterie with its claims to the higher culture, on the heroic worshiper of art for art's sake,

The highly aesthetical
Ultra poetical
Je-ne-sais-quoi young man.

The first novel of the romantic quest to present the new hero whose pursuit was "the discovery of a vision, the seeing of a perfect humanity in a perfect world", was Walter Pater's *Marius The Epicurean* (1885). And it was this seeing, this vision, this quest to burn always with a hard, gemlike flame, to maintain life at its highest ecstasy, that was at the center of Marius' being, and that even at his death could solace him with thoughts of a possible future quest for wonder, and romantic dreams. In the soul of Marius, Paganism struggles with Christianity, but the bond of union, the holy grail that carries Marius forward is Epicureanism, that higher aesthetic vision of which Pagan or Christian beliefs were but the symbol, the vision that is of life as a quest for beauty.

A hero of the romantic quest for aesthetic rapture whose soul was less exalted than that of Marius, appeared in George Moore's *"Confessions of a Young Man"* (1886). The exploitation of the refinements of the senses, and a style somewhat more rotten than ripe are qualities of this new hero of a decadent Parisian romantic quest. From everything, cruelty, Catholic music, sensual priests, and Japanese draperies, this hero can cull a romantic even if poisonous pleasure. The qualities of Mr. Moore's quest lie revealed on almost every page of his *Confessions*, as for example, on this one at the beginning of chapter six.

"A Japanese dressing gown, the ideality of whose tissue delights me, some fresh honey and milk set by this couch hung with royal fringes; and having partaken of this odorous refreshment, I call to Jack, my great python that is crawling about after a two months' fast. I tie up a guineapig to the tabouret, pure Louis XV, and the little beast

struggles and squeaks; the snake, his black, bead-like eyes are fixed, how superb are the oscillations. . . . now he strikes, and slowly and with what exquisite gourmandise he lubricates and swallows.

"Marshall is at the organ in the hall, he is playing a Gregorian chant, that beautiful hymn, the 'Vexilla Regis' by Saint Fortunatus, the great poet of the Middle Ages. And, having turned over the leaves of 'Les Fetes Gallantes', I sit down to write.

". . The nature of these stories is easy to imagine: there was the youth who wandered by night into a witches' sabbath, and was disputed for by the witches, young and old. There was the light o' love who went into the desert to tempt the holy man. . ."¹

In the stories of William Morris the romantic quest for the shadowy isle of bliss which humanity might, if it would, inhabit, stands in the light of romantic beauty and splendor. These stories combine a love of mediaeval art, of the spirit of Malory, with socialistic dreaming of a future of aesthetic and humane pleasure. "The Story of the Glittering Plain" (1890) with Hallblithe's utopian quest, and "News From Nowhere" (1891), formulate clearly Morris' aesthetic socialism, and his relationship to the finer spirits of the pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood.

"The Picture of Dorian Grey" (1891), by Oscar Wilde, has in it much of the fleshly romanticism of Mr. Moore's Confessions. The quest of Dorian Grey was for sensuous and intellectual delight, artistic ecstasy, and all the mad pleasures of a world in which morals had no place except as the superstitions of the middle classes. Dorian Grey is the Don Juan of modern aesthetic romanticism, and his ruin, like Wilde's own, was symbolic of the decadence and ruin that overtook art for art's sake as a sign of culture and romance.

It will be found I think in a further examination of the novels of this aesthetic romanticism, that the hero of the artistic quest generally

¹

George Moore, The Confessions of a Young Man (1888), Chap. VI.

pursued either the more austere pre-Raphaelite desire for a renaissance of wonder, or the sensuous idolatry of the religion of beauty as revealed in the novels of George Moore and Oscar Wilde. As examples of the finer type of romance with heroes whose quest was for a poetical region of wonder, Watts-Dunton's "Aylwin" (1898), and Richard Le Gallienne's "Romance of Zion Chapel" of the same year, deserve study. Novels that treat of the heroes of Bohemianism, or of the pursuit of aesthetic intoxication, are Robert Smythe Hichens' "The Green Carnation" (1894) - a satire on Wilde - Margaret Pollock Sherwood's "A Puritan Bohemia" (1896); Neil Munro's "Gillian the Dreamer" (1898); Morley Roberts' "Immortal Youth" (1902); Maud Stepney Rawson's (nee Fife) "Journeyman Love" (1902); Romain Rolland's "Jean Christophe" (1904-12); Arlo Bates' "The Pagans" (1884), and finally for a study of examples of various types of decadent aesthetes, it is well to read Arthur Symons' "Spiritual Adventures: Studies in Temperament" (1905), and S. P. Sherman's "On Contemporary Literature" (1917). Such an outline is, of course, far from complete, and does not endeavour to do more than give a somewhat rough classification of the types of heroes produced by this aesthetic revival of romance during the 1880's and 1890's, and its return to mediaevalism and to Bohemianism.

V.

HEROES OF THE ROMANTIC QUEST FOR RELIGIOUS OR MYSTICAL INSIGHT.

The revival of the quest for a spiritual translation, and a feeling of harmony with the mystic spirit of the universe, which we noted in the novels of the Oxford Movement during the years of the fifth and sixth decades of the nineteenth century, continued in the novels of the later decades. Perhaps the greatest of these novels of the mystic quest were J. H. Snorthouse's "John Inglesant" (1881), and Kipling's "Kim" (1901), the first, inspired by the Oxford Movement, being the story of a hero whose life in the reign of Charles I was torn between mysticism and a renaissance joy in life; and "Kim", the story of an Irish waif who is attached to an Indian Lama on a search for the mystical river. In the contrast between the practical imperialism of Kim's nature and the mystical yearning of the Lama's quest, occidental and oriental ideals of the heroic life meet in sharp contrast.

To endeavour to list all the novels or heroes who during the latter part of the nineteenth century were in quest of the religious insight which they felt that Darwinism and humanitarianism had taken from the world, would in itself demand a study of some length. There are, I believe, something over a hundred novels in this group that deserve attention. It is therefore impossible here to do more than mention a few of the many novelists who treat of the type. In the novels of Charles Reade, Laurence Oliphant, George Eliot, George Macdonald, E. E. Hale, Rev. E. A. Abbott, F. M. Crawford, Richard Garnett, Mark Twain, Rev. J. G. Adderley, Grant Allen, James Lane Allen, Hall Caine, C. M. Collins, Lily Dougall, Theodore Douglas, Harold Fredrick, Dorothy Gerard, B. C. Greene, A. E. Barr, Arlo Bates, H. Ridder Haggard, William Hale White, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, Lew

Wallace, Rudyard Kipling, George Meredith, J. H. Shortehouse, Walter Pater, R. L. Stevenson, and many other English writers, not to mention the important work of European novelists, there is a vast amount of religious writing that contains heroes of religion who are romantic, questioning, and striving for a mystical goal.

VI.

HUMANITARIAN AND OTHER HEROES OF THE ROMANTIC QUEST.

A forecast of the position of the hero of the romantic quest in the novels of a scientific or humanitarian utopianism is even more difficult to make than was a forecast of the mystical hero of religion. Here the number of novels increases, and here there stands revealed the most important of the modern heroes of the romantic quest. His is the Research Magnificent, as H. G. Wells termed the quest in his novel of that name, the quest to find the perfect social formula for eradicating from the life of man wars, diseases, pain, poverty, evil passions, and maladjustment; and to substitute by means of this undiscovered formula a world of millennial grace and beauty. This, in other words, is the quest by means of science and humane feeling to so use man's powers in subduing the environment to his uses, that he will bring heaven here and now right down upon earth. "The Research Magnificent" (1915), is itself an extraordinary even though too enthusiastic account of the quest of the most popular type of present day idealist. It is, however, only one of the recent examples of a long line of similar novels. To attempt to list them is to suggest a history of a large portion of the works of modern fiction. Charles Kingsley, Mrs. H. B. Stowe, Charles Dickens, Charles Reade, Edward Bellamy, Bulwer Lytton, George Gissing, William Dean Howells, William Morris, Ernest Pool, and H. G. Wells, are but a few of those who are interested in the great modern dream of discovering a method for man's perfectibility. That which was jeered at in the novels of Godwin and Holcroft, has come in modern times to be the religion of humanity. And in this new religion there is revealed a new type of hero, more modern, rejoicing in a big job and the use of machinery and method, more alive finally than even Kingsley's

heroes of muscular Christianity, and with dreams of world-wide reform that would have greatly startled Anna St. Ives, or Henry, Earl of Moreland.

This theme of a hero in quest of a scientific-humanitarian utopia can easily be illustrated in modern fiction. Dr. Kenneth Sylvan Guthrie in "A Romance of Two Centuries" (1919) relates, like Bellamy's "Looking Backward" (1888), the story of a young American of the recent American Army, who, waking in the year 2023 from African sleeping sickness, finds the utopia which the quest of humanity has achieved.

An even more prophetic hero of this quest was Philip Dru, a hero supposedly representing President Wilson, and appearing in 1912 in a novel entitled "Philip Dru, Administrator, a story of tomorrow, 1920-35". The reviewers suspected Colonel E. M. House of its authorship, but so far as I know, without proof. The story is a fantastic account of the life of Philip Dru, a West Point graduate with humanitarian leanings, who, after serving for a time at an army post, leaves the army, and devotes himself to the relief of the poor in our big cities, and to a quest for the perfect social formula or formulae that will heal the social wrong. Study reveals the Trusts as the giants in the hero's path. By means of a dictograph, Philip exposes the wickedness of the Big Three, a trio of trust magnates who own and enslave the entire United States. Civil war rouses the population; Dru heads the revolt, wins, and enters upon a seven-year reign of benevolent despotism. At the end of his rule he can point with pride to a world remoulded nearer to his heart's desire than one might today think possible. The results were as follows: (1) the break up of an English-German-Japanese alliance against the Monroe Doctrine; (2) the conquest of Mexico -- for altruistic reasons, of course -- and the annexation of all land to the Panama Canal; (3) universal suffrage; (4) equal

pay and adequate protection for all workers, male or female; (5) reduction of armaments, after the United States has secured a place second only to England, and an Anglo-American entente that rules the seven seas; (6) rewritten national and state constitutions; (7) co-partnership of labor and capital, with the surplus profits going to labor; and (8) single tax on land. These things accomplished, Philip Dru and his wife, Gloria Strawn, sail for Russia, or China, there to vanish completely from the sight of the world, thus like Lycurgus, to efface themselves, and free America from the overshadowing menace of a new dictatorship by Philip. Gilbert and Sullivan would have liked this benevolent American Mikado, but I fear they would not, like the author, have taken Philip and his quest quite so seriously.

Besides such heroes of the romantic quest, there are other heroes difficult of classification, perhaps, but of interest and importance, -- Joseph Conrad's "Lord Jim" (1900), for example, a story of a fine boy who ruins his character by one mistake in a crisis of action, and whose life is a quest for this lost character. Leonard Merrick's "Conrad in Quest of His Youth" (1919) revives in pleasing form the quest for and the achievement of the impossible, and we see Conrad finding the Eternal Fountain so long and vainly sought by Ponce de Leon. Or to turn from the novel to the allied field of biography, one finds that so recent a work as Henry Adams' "The Education of Henry Adams" (1918), is but the portrayal of his life as a romantic quest for education. In his search for the purpose of life he is led to survey most of the ideals and dreams that dominate modern men of thought and action, and to end as puzzled as he began. Philosophy, science, action, travel, politics, and theories of historical acceleration urge him to pursuit, interest, exploration; but from it all

he learns few rules for divining the future, valuing experience, or saying what life is or what it is for. It is, Adams discovers, dynamic, explosive, in the grip of forces and motives that lead no one knows where. Adams' life was a testimony to the strength of his passion, a passion so strong that not even ennui or disillusion could deprive him of his faith in this god of his ancestors. This was the quest of all great spirits, of Bunyan, and Socrates, and Buddha, the quest to find behind the chaos of dissolving relations which men call the world, a center of divine stability. This center for Adams was Education. Was it a sign of his greatness that he so idealized and romanticized his dream, that, strive as he would, he could find only shadows?

CONCLUSION.

CONCLUSION.

Several considerations present themselves as proper conclusions for a study of this sort: the originality of the conception of the hero of the romantic quest; the characteristics and variety achieved in his development; and the significance historically and artistically of the appearance of such a type.

The originality of the hero of the romantic quest in modern fiction may be brought out by a comparison of the characteristics of such a hero with those of preceding romantic and heroic characters. If we turn, for example, to Shakespeare's heroes of romantic tragedy, Macbeth, Othello, Romeo, Hamlet, King Lear, we discover that the formula of life in them was quite different from that in the hero of the romantic quest. Shakespeare's heroes are shattered by an excess of passion, ambition, jealousy, love, or the envy of fate, or ingratitude. This master-passion, however, does not take the form of a romantic quest. Instead, the tragic weakness of the hero combines with accident, or fate to ruin the happiness which he already possesses. The hero of the romantic quest is romantic for different reasons. He is the hero who hungers greatly, and has a great hope, and who follows such longing and aspiration with a passionate pursuit of the object of desire. In brief, in Shakespeare it is an experienced, and not an imaginary delight that sweeps the hero to ruin or happiness. The contrast between the romance of the imperial glory, pride and superstition of Shakespeare's Julius Caesar, and the romance of the infinitely aspiring quest of the Caesar of George Bernard Shaw for something that can live up to the demands of his imagination, brings out clearly the differences between the two types of romantic heroes. Though one does not ordinarily think of Shaw's characters as apt to be romantic, the following address of

his Caesar to the Egyptian Sphinx reveals the dream of a hero of the romantic quest.

"Hail, Sphinx: salutation from Julius Caesar! I have wandered in many lands, seeking the lost regions from which my birth into this world exiled me, and the company of creatures such as I myself. I have found flocks and pastures, men and cities, but no other Caesar, no air native to me, no man kindred to me, none who can do my day's deed and think my night's thought. In the little world yonder, Sphinx, my place is as high as yours in this great desert; only I wander, and you sit still; I conquer, and you endure; I work and wonder, you watch and wait; I look up and am dazzled, look down and am darkened, look round and am puzzled, whilst your eyes never turn from looking out -- out of the world -- to the lost region -- the home from which we have strayed. Sphinx, you and I, strangers to the race of men, are no strangers to one another; have I not been conscious of you and of this place since I was born? Rome is a madman's dream; this is my Reality. These starry lamps of yours I have seen from afar in Gaul, in Britain, in Spain, in Thessaly, signalling great secrets to some eternal sentinel below, whose post I never could find. And here at last is their sentinel -- an image of the constant and immortal part of my life, silent, full of thoughts, alone in the silver desert. Sphinx, Sphinx: I have climbed mountains at night to hear in the distance the stealthy footfall of the winds that chase your sands in forbidden play -- our invisible children, Oh Sphinx, laughing in whispers. My way hither was the way of destiny: for I am he of whose genius you are the symbol: part brute, part woman, and part God -- nothing of man in me at all. Have I read your riddle, Sphinx?"¹

Or if we consider the heroes and heroines of Shakespeare's romantic comedies, much the same contrast with modern heroes holds true. Rosalind's quest is for no dream ideal; it is for Orlando. Nympholepsy was not one of the distractions of the forest of Arden.

If we turn to modern times and contrast the hero of the romantic quest with characteristic types in eighteenth century fiction, we see again how original this nineteenth century conception of the heroic life was. Growing impulses of quixotism, orientalism, and sentimentalism in eighteenth century heroes, as we have noted, helped to tear these heroes loose from the moorings

of convention, and set them adrift on a flood of emotion, heroes of uncharted adventure. They were not however conceived with enough poetic feeling to be termed romantic, nor were their pursuits idealized with sufficient imagination to be called romantic quests. Quixotic, sentimental, adventurous, humanitarian, and moral quests there were in abundance, and heroes illustrative of these pursuits, but not till the end of the century, heroes and quests that were romantic. In quixotism, Launcelot Greaves, Parson Adams, Geoffrey Wildgoose the Spiritual Quixote, and the Fair Arabella the Female Quixote, illustrate an idealism a little odd, fantastic, and impractical, but scarcely glorified or poetised sufficiently for a romantic quest. The oriental heroes Mirza and Rasselas rise to a vision of life as a pursuit of moral and philosophic grandeur, but morals and philosophy do not constitute romance. Sentimentalists in abundance in the eighteenth century follow the heart either for the thrill of it, or for moral or humanitarian reasons, Pamela, Clarissa, My Uncle Toby, Tristram Shandy, Harry Clinton the Fool of Quality, Harley the Man of Feeling, and Sandford and Merton; but they do little to idealize their sentiments or to shape them into romantic visions of delight. In Emile and the Young Werther there is more philosophy than in the English characters of sentiment, and hence more of a tendency to sublimate the feelings, to idealize and objectify them, and so to enter into the pursuit of an all-consuming ideal of desire. It is not, however, until the French Revolution that such a romanticizing of sentiment is embodied in the English heroes of the novel.

With the French Revolution the expansive liberation of the emotions and the imagination which we have seen begun in these heroes of orientalism, sentimentalism, and quixotism, acquired a romantic quality. The new heroes took the step that the eighteenth century heroes could not take; they allegorized their emotions. In other words whereas sentiment and quixotism

had acted as an emotional impulse to drive the heroes of the eighteenth century to passionate deeds of oddity or adventure, romanticism in the nineteenth century led them to see in their emotions and ideals,

Huge cloudy symbols of a high romance.

And so emotion to the hero of the romantic quest is not merely a feeling for its own sake, or the result of a deed, or the means to a moral or humanitarian life, as it was to the eighteenth century hero, but is rather a new means of counting, a method for arriving at infinity, a symbol or mirror in which is reflected the perfect image of ideal beauty. The pursuit of such an ideal vision is the master passion of the hero of the romantic quest. This motive worked a revolution in the portrayal of the heroic life. Lovelace became Don Juan, the humanitarian became the perfectibilian, the disciple of ethical morality became a mystic, and the golden age became embodied in the future instead of the past.

During the nineteenth century the hero of the romantic quest developed some six or eight main forms of pursuit, a quest for the absolute, for perfectibility, for the dream-woman, for mysticism in art, gipsy lore, or religion, and for the law or spirit of nature that controls the world. The effect of these romantic quests on different heroes is remarkable in producing characters of interest and variety, and it will perhaps be useful at this point to mention again some of the more important heroes of the above types.

In the grip of the absolute, either in quest of it as an immortal hope, or seeking to be free from it as a dread burden and curse are Vathek, St. Leon, Salathiel the Immortal, Frankenstein, Melmoth the Wanderer, St. Irvyne the Rosicrucian, and Zanoni. Questers for perfectibility who see in their own desires warrant for the belief that there is a talisman, a perfect social formula, either socialistic or naturalistic by which man may

be made perfect appear in great numbers. Some of these heroes and heroines are, Anna St. Ives, Frank Henley, Raymond the Robber Captain, Caleb Williams, Hugh Trevor, Falkland, St. Leon, The Vagabond, Marauder the Infernal Quixote, Adeline Mowbray, Vivian Grey, Pelham, Paul Clifford, Eugene Aram, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Conringsby, Sidonia, Hallblithe, Bazaroff, Philip Dru, and Wm. Benham of "The Research Magnificent".

Free-love beginning in such characters as Zeluco, Ambrosio, and Schedoni, becomes more romantic and symbolical in heroes whose passion is the pursuit of a dream-woman. This progress may be noted in the growing nympholepsy of these heroes as they develop from Zeluco on. Don Juan, Glenarvon, Calantha and Contarini Fleming prepare the way, and the Veiled Lady, the Golden Girl, the Well-Beloved, and Lilith, the erotic goddess of Mr. George Moore's dreams, represent the fully developed nympholeptic visions. Another type of romantic hero of the quest was the scholar gipsy, and closely resembling him, the gentleman vagabond. Lavengro, Robert Louis Stevenson, Paragot, Peter Vibart, and Barnabas Barty followed the lure of magical or Bohemian adventure and beauty, and on a higher quest for a mystical rapture of the spirit in gipsy lore were Arnold's scholar gipsy, and Watts-Dunton's Aylwin.

Closely connected with the Bohemian gipsies were the Bohemians of art, Epicureans and pre-Raphaelites, heroes in quest of happiness in a world of artistic beauty. Developing from the slightly romantic heroes of the studio in the novels of Peacock, Disraeli, Thomas Moore, and Bulwer Lytton, they came in the late nineteenth century to visualize their ideal in the quest of art for art's sake. Bohemian, and even at times degraded heroes of the quest appeared in The Confessions of a Young Man, in Paragot, and Dorian Grey; but mystics whose art was of spiritual power and penetration to more sublime visions were Marius the Epicurean, Aylwin, and Jean Christophe.

Naturalistic heroes of the quest, sentimental, scientific, and materialistic, achieve almost their only development in the nineteenth century. Sentimental naturalists in quest of a spirit of reverie and joy in nature begin with Hermsprong, and with William (in "Nature and Art"), and continue through Godwin's Falkland, to the mystical paganism of Maurice Hewlett's heroes of nature. Heroes in the grip of a materialistic naturalism appear in Bazaroff, and in the theories of Hardy's Jude and Tess, and the characters of Theodore Dreiser; and finally, the naturalism of a scientific quest appears in Frankenstein, in Bellamy's "Looking Backward", and in the scientific utopians of Mr. H. G. Wells.

Of all these heroes of the romantic quest, perhaps those of highest spiritual significance were the mystics, seekers like Bunyan for the peace of God. Seraphita, Alroy, Coutarini Fleming, Tancred, Charles Reding (Cardinal Newman), Fabiola, the Divine Callista, Hypatia, John Inglesant, and Kim's Indian Lama, are some of the important heroes who made romantic the religious crusade of the century. If we compare the aesthetic Catholicism of the pre-Raphaelites with the mystical elation of the heroes of the Oxford Movement, we arrive at a just conception of the differences between the religion of beauty and the religion of spiritual insight. The renaissance of wonder in art too often ended in satiety and decadence, though in Marius and Aylwin it achieved figures of touching beauty. In religion romanticism for a time revived the ecstasy of the saints, and the ideals of the middle ages seemed to reappear in the joy of Newman's pilgrimage and surrender.

In conclusion, if one is asked for a word of praise or blame for the hero of the romantic quest, he will, I think, find it difficult to refrain from venturing both. Though the quest for the absolute is perhaps absurd,

pragmatically, it has proved of great value. Some such impulse of curiosity, and wonder is at the basis of every hypothesis, scientific, religious, or human. The dreamers of life, that is the inventors, lovers, poets, and founders of religions have always been heroes of the romantic quest, the quest for perfection. If in their mad pursuits they have caused revolutions, overturned empires, and brought into life a spirit of endless yearning and disturbing adventure, they do but fulfill a law of their natures, the ambition to create endlessly, and to explore the mystery of life. If we do not wish to be upset in our conventions and beliefs, we should not lend an ear to their romanticizing. To follow the quest, though it may or may not be the sign of a noble nature, is indicative of the possession of imagination. It is a sign of the creative vigor and reach of the soul of the nineteenth century that it could achieve an embodiment of its finer aspirations in so versatile, imaginative, and fascinating a character as the hero of the romantic quest.

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Note.

This bibliography is not intended as a complete list of all the works consulted, but is an attempt to give only such works as are of importance in this study, or as are apt to prove of service to students in closely related fields. In general the bibliography follows the outline of the study.

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Centennial High School, Pueblo, Colorado.....1907.
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During the years 1915 to 1918, I was also a student in the graduate school of the University of Illinois. The year 1918-1919 I spent in the United States Navy, and the present year I have spent as a Fellow at the University of Illinois completing the accompanying dissertation on The Hero of the Romantic Quest in English Fiction: 1790-1850.

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